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No. 1427

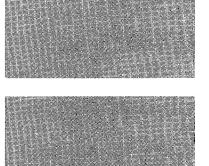
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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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| Contents | Page |
|---|------|
| INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS | |
| Situation of West European Communist Parties Reviewed (Gyula Horn; PARTELET, Jul 77) | 1 |
| CPSL Daily: Brezhnev Asks Diplomats To Be Objective (Vladimir Lomejko; PRAVDA, 15 Jul 77) | 8 |
| FDJ Delegation Meets RCP Officials in Bucharest (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18 Jul 77) | 9 |
| Yugoslavia Awards Medals to SED Officials (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 20 Jun 77) | 10 |
| ALBANIA | |
| Delays in Delivery of Imports Deplored at Trade Union Congress (ZERI) I POPULLIT, 22, 23 Jun 77) | 11 |
| Imported Equipment for Ballsh Refinery Lacking, by Thanas Gjoka Delays in Deliveries Slow Elbasan Plant Construction, by Maqo Polena | |
| BULGARIA | |
| Deputy Minister Calls for Higher Military Discipline (Khristo Dobrev; ARMEYSKI PREGLED, No 5, 1977) | 12 |
| Airmen Must Learn To Navigate Without Aid From Ground (Mitko Kuzmanov; ARMEYSKI PREGLED, No 5, 1977) | 18 |

| CONTENTS (Continued) | Page |
|--|------|
| CZECHOSLOVAKIA | |
| Western Inventions About Eurocommunism Scored (Miroslav Kubin; RUDE PRAVO, 2 Jul 77) | 23 |
| Lucan: Future Plans for CSSR Educational System (Matej Lucan; TVORBA, 29 Jun 77) | 26 |
| EAST GERMANY | |
| West German Assessment of Deteriorating GDR Ideology (Editorial, Peter Pragal; SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 16/17 Jun 77) | 33 |
| Briefs French National Day Message | 35 |
| HUNGARY | |
| Copyright Office Head Comments on Cultural Exchange (Istvan Timar Interview; MAGYAR HIRLAP, 26 Jun 77) | 36 |
| Briefs Pilot Training | 39 |
| ROMANIA | |
| Report on U.S. Conferences Honoring Romanian Independence (Zoe Dumitrescu-Busulenga; ROMANIA LIBERA, 7 Jul 77) | 40 |
| Ministry Official on New Rehabilitation Measures (Romul Opre Interview; FLACARA, 16 Jun 77) | 43 |
| YUGOSLAVIA | |
| Figures Cited on Youth Federation, LCY Membership (MLADOST, 25 May 77) | 47 |
| Kolisevski Holds Talks With Ecuadorean Ministers in Quito (POLITIKA, 3 Jul 77) | 49 |
| Population Increase in Kosovo to 1972 Surveyed (Hivzi Islami; SOCIOLOGIJA, Jan-Mar 77) | 50 |
| | |

SITUATION OF WEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES REVIEWED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 7, Jul 77 pp 45-51

[Article by Gyula Horn, deputy chief of a Central Committee department: "The Cause of Peace, Democracy and Social Progress in the Capitalist Countries of Europe"]

[Text] The goal of the communist and workers parties is to further social progress. It is well known that this struggle takes place amidst very complicated circumstances and changing power relationships. It is not easy to compose a correct picture from the multiplicity of daily events: What is the real situation in the several countries, how is the struggle for social progress developing, what are its content and its method? Perhaps this is why we sometimes meet with a simplification of matters or simply with opinions which reflect a lack of knowledge about the situation.

On The Road of Social Progress

The swift change in economic and political relationships demands that the communist and workers' parties renew their conceptions from time to time and change their opinions about the social development which is transcending the capitalist system. The concrete content and form of the struggle is built on the fact that the communist party can achieve results only together with all democratic forces. It is due to this also that the communist party is increasingly appearing as a creative social force in several western European countries.

Tasks interdependent with social progress and the line of economic-social development can be judged primarily on the basis of the internal situation and unique conditions of the given country. It is thus a law that every communist party independently defines its strategy and tactics pertaining to construction of the new society, those methods which it considers most useful in its own country. In our age, however--since economic and political relationships are being internationalized ever more strongly--there is an objective requirement that the communist parties take into consideration in their national programs serving social progress the factors and experiences interdependent with the international class struggle and the international effect of their own struggle.

Some of the important elements of party programs developed within national frameworks, elements which can be regarded as common, receive a place in the international meetings and talks of the communist parties also. The Berlin conference of European communist and workers' parties held one year ago, for example, devoted great attention to the struggle against the rule of the monopolies. This is proven by the final document of the conference also which gave for the first time a common analysis of new aspects of the general crisis of capitalism. This document contains important statements in regard to the alliance policy of the communists too, in regard to the uniting of all democratic and peace-loving forces in the interest of common social goals.

Various manifestations of the international class struggle prove the correctness of the conclusions of the Berlin conference. The general crisis of capitalism has deepened further in the recent past. The internal economic, social and political problems are sharpening ever more strongly, especially in Italy, France, England and Portugal. The symptoms of crisis gathering in these capitalist countries on the soil of contradictions built up over long years have become a political force. In other capitalist countries—in Belgium, Finland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, etc—the present economic situation is characterized by lasting, large scale unemployment and inflation. From the viewpoint of the worker class this means concretely that the economic-social victories won in a hard class struggle are in danger. The capitalist states represent primarily the interests of monopoly capital and for this reason the struggle to ward off the burdens of the crisis and defend the earlier social achievements has political content.

In regard to the essence of the mounting problems not one of the western European governments yet has a modern strategy and they are not capable of using effective tools to alleviate the deepening tensions created by the crisis. The numerous government crises and the shakiness of the positions of some leading political parties are interdependent with this situation.

It is obvious that warding off the burdens of the crisis oppressing the working masses now stands in the center of the struggle of the communist parties of the European capitalist countries. But the goals of the struggle are a good bit broader than this; only the communist parties, of all the political parties, unite the struggle being waged for defense of the economic-social and democratic achievements of the working masses and against the crisis effects with the goals of a socialist transformation of society. The Berlin document formulates this fact as follows: "The worker class and workers of capitalist Europe are struggling for a democratic path leading out of the crisis, for a path which corresponds to the interests of the popular masses and opens the way toward a socialist transformation of society."

Against the Monopolies, In Defense of the Workers

It can be seen from the new analyses which have been published recently that the programs of the western European communist parties for social progress are based on a consideration of the changes which have taken place amidst national frameworks and on the international stage. They start from the fact that the material and political conditions for the transition to socialism have become more favorable in the capitalist world. Under the influence of the scientific-technological revolution the development of the national economies and the concentration of productive forces have reached a very high level. As a result of all this the worker class is numerically also the largest class of the developed capitalist countries. Almost 70 percent of the employable population of western Europe are workers.

Fundamental among the political conditions for the transition to socialism is the high degree of organization of the worker class, its strengthening position in the state power and administrative structure of society. It is characteristic of the contemporary situation of the western European labor movement that the worker class has at its disposal significant democratic achievements and strong political positions in the capitalist structure -- as a result of the achievements of the class struggle thus far. In several capitalist countries, for example, worker representatives make up a significant proportion in the legislative bodies. The direct participation of the workers and their representatives in local administrative organs is ever greater in Italy, France, Finland, Portugal, Cyprus and elsewhere. The trade unions play a considerable role in economic and, to some extent, in political processes. Such factors certainly indicate also that the conditions of the international class struggle have changed substantially. Unlike earlier periods, the importance and influence of the forces of world revolution have strengthened and this represents an inestimable support in the struggle. But it would be a mistake to believe that the more favorable circumstances or the changed conditions are equivalent to a decreased resistance. The fact is that the capitalist economic, political and military integration organizations and the comprehensive economic and political organizations of the national and international monopolies loom as gigantic obstacles in the path of a democratic transformation.

The political achievements and public life positions of the worker class are extraordinarily important in the struggle being waged against the rule of the monopolies. Defending, strengthening and spreading these is a task for the communist parties which is directly linked to the social transformation. Their political significance derives from the fact that by making use of them they can mobilize all social strata opposed to the monopolies. This includes those millions of white collar employees and small property owners who are interested in the struggle being waged against the rule of the monopolies and for the consolidation of the democratic achievements and positions.

A careful consideration, analysis and synthesis of all the important factors characterizing capitalist society provide the essence of the political platforms of the western European communist parties. According to these programs one can progress on the democratic road to socialism amidst the present capitalist relationships by making use of and spreading the gradually won positions and by winning over and supporting the great majority of the worker class and other working strata. The ultimate goal is the coming to power of the working classes and the complete liquidation of bourgeois society. The road leading to this is step-by-step concrete changes in the economic-political structure of capitalist society as long as there has not been a radical turning in the internal situation of the country. In this process mass influence means, from the political viewpoint, that the comprehensive and close contacts of the individual communist parties with various strata of the workers are becoming a mobilizing and crucial driving force.

A defense of the immediate interests of the workers is now fundamental in the political activity of the western European communist parties. In various ways they are conducting, for example, a stubborn and many-sided struggle for reform of the tax system, for social and anti-inflation measures, for expanding employment, etc. In the present situation the struggle being waged for a solution of problems of immediate interest to the working masses is especially important. In practice this means that the communists are spending much energy, doing many-sided enlightenment, mobilizing and organizing work in the factories, places of work and residential areas. The communists cannot neglect this struggle because a simple depiction of the future picture of the new society would irretrievably separate them from the masses who, as it is said, want better and more secure conditions "here and now" and who want peace independent of their religion, worldview or nationality.

In opposition to the ruling ideology the communist parties are carrying out broad scale enlightenment and persuasion activity in parliaments, solidarity actions and numerous other forms of the struggle to clarify political thinking and spread their ideals. But results do not depend simply on intentions or efforts but rather on the combined effect of incredibly many internal and external factors. And this is a warning that we should weigh relationships, conditions and possibilities realistically, that we should not start from subjective desires.

The Strength of the Communist Parties

Means and goals are wedded to one another in the efforts of the western European communist parties interdependent with social progress. A gathering together of the social-political forces interested in a democratic turning is at once a goal and a means for social progress, for the struggle of the worker class. Of fundamental importance among these is a further increase in the strength and political weight of the communist parties.

The political influence of the communist parties has developed unevenly in the various capitalist countries of Europe in the most recent period. A new considerable step forward can be experienced in the situation of several parties; success in the most recent elections by emphasizing that "one should vote for the actual leftist force against the rightist danger." More significant progress by the communists is also made difficult in several countries by the circumstance that while the party is legal according to the bourgeois constitution in reality its activity is held back by a great number of limiting measures. Naturally all of this does not contradict the fact that in the capitalist countries mentioned the communist parties are significant political factors, a fact which is demonstrated in their influence primarily on lower and middle level professional and political organizations.

The struggle of the communist parties is made difficult by the circumstance that in virtually all the capitalist countries of Europe the bourgeoisie have privileged political prerogatives. In certain respects the bourgeois parties have a gigantic advantage over the left. They own the crucial part of the means of mass communication and thus virtually monopolize the formation of public opinion and they conduct a ceaseless anti-communist campaign from these positions. In some countries the communist parties can reach the masses virtually only by means of personal contacts. In many places the anti-democratic nature of the representative system gives the bourgeoisie special advantages in parliamentary elections. For this reason the communists are devoting special attention to having their voice reach the broad working masses and they are fighting for a proportional representative system in France and elsewhere. This struggle of the communist parties is a direct means and goal of the democratic transformation too.

Uniting All Progressive Forces

The document of the Berlin conference states, among other things: "The communist and workers' parties participating in the conference...again emphasize that they are ready for cooperation on the basis of equal rights with all democratic forces and especially with the socialist and social democrat parties in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress." The importance of such cooperation has increased especially in our day. In the wake of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism the social-political tensions have sharpened and the authoritarian rule efforts of the great bourgeoisie have been revived also. Extremist circles have become active recently especially in the FRG, France, England, Portugal and Greece. A governmental form of violent attempts to get out of the crisis situation in one or several countries would set back democratic development and directly endanger the existence and fundamental positions of all democratic parties and movements including social democracy. Under present circumstances a fascist turning would have serious international political consequences. A strengthening of the cooperation of the various democratic parties and movements is thus ever more

necessary in our day. In several capitalist countries cooperation between the two wings of the labor movement has been given new content too; in the present situation a common carrying out of a turn to the left is an immediate binding link, in addition to warding off the danger of fascism.

After the Berlin conference the worker class made good use of the possibilities given by the process of detente which developed in the wake of a strengthening of the forces of socialism and progress. This is aiding a democratization of international political relationships and within national frameworks it is strengthening the possibilities for a democratic turning. This is indicated by, among other things, the success of the democratic break-through in Spain.

A joint international action program for and action by the parties of the worker class is indispensably important in the interest of limiting the power of international monopoly capital and its organizations.

Maintaining the favorable international political trend is indispensable for the forces interested in social progress. A positive contribution by social democracy is indispensably important in this too. The socialist and social democrat parties of western Europe, whether as governing parties or as constructive opposition forces, are interested in a continuation of detente and in developing contacts among countries with different social systems. Amidst the contemporary conditions of international power relationships social democracy and the other democratic political movements have no alternative to detente.

The leftist alternative can be a real way out of the general crisis of capitalism because only it is capable of stopping a further deepening of the process, of liquidating by effective means the roots of the crisis and placing economic-social life on new foundations.

Carrying out the democratic turning is a complex and, it is no exaggeration, a painful process in any country. From the first moment of their existence the leftist governments will certainly find themselves opposed by the coordinated action of international monopoly capital. It is also an historical experience that despite all differing interests they will try to unite their forces by every means in the real situation of danger. One must also see without illusions that the burdens of the crisis can be warded off and the crisis policy brought to an end only at the price of long and serious struggle. It is especially important in this struggle that the worker class should not be without the support and solidarity of other revolutionary forces, before all of the socialism which is being realized.

In the wake of the world political successes of the socialist countries better conditions have been created for the western European communist parties to carry out a leftist turning. Similarly, the achievements of the struggle of the worker class in the capitalist countries and the increase in the mass influence of the western European communist parties constitute a part of the favorable development of the international power relationships. Without a mutual recognition and acceptance of these fundamental elements the Berlin conference of the European communist and workers' parties would not have taken place either. As a result of the coinciding of fundamental goals and interests objective factors play the defining role in the cooperation of the international labor movement and the socialist countries.

A recognition of the quickly changing tactics of bourgeois propaganda is of extraordinary importance in the present situation of the international communist and labor movement. It serves to unmask the obsolete nature of imperialism, for example, that they virtually call the communist parties to account in regard to the seriousness of their intentions pertaining to social transformation.

Obviously the bourgeoisie is not inspired by a desire to strengthen the policies of the communist parties. The real goal is to provoke debates in the international communist movement, to extract statements which might create tension among communist parties. The bourgeois propaganda machine would like to guide the development of relations among communist parties. The lessons and experiences of the Berlin conference include the fact that the communist parties regard debate as a product and tool of development in that not only must answers be worked out to the new questions of society but also different answers must often be given to old questions on the basis of historical perspective. It is of crucial importance for the communist parties that they be able to distinguish friend from foe and according to the document "...reject every policy and world view which in regard to its essence subordinates the worker class to the capitalist system."

* * *

One year ago the Berlin conference of communist and workers' parties confirmed--and no one can question this--that every party defines its own strategy and tactics. The joint document adopted and signed by the parties unambiguously establishes that the communist and workers' parties respect the right of a free choice among various roads in the struggle for a progressive social transformation, for socialism. In addition, naturally, it also emphasizes that the communist parties have common interests and goals in creating peace, security and socialism. No other political movement has a stronger binding link than this.

8984

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CPSL DAILY: BREZHNEV ASKS DIPLOMATS TO BE OBJECTIVE

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Jul 77 p 6 AU

[Article by Vladimir Lomejko: "On L. I. Brezhnev's Meeting With Foreign Diplomats' Stress on Detente"]

[Excerpts] The world press agencies noted that at the Kremlin reception the head of the Soviet state talked individually with practically every diplomat present. He asked the diplomats to objectively inform their governments about Soviet policy so as to establish a friendly and ungrudging atmosphere, an atmosphere of trust in their countries' relations with the Soviet Union. The history of diplomacy testifies to the ambassadors' significant role in this respect. Deplorably, the world usually gets to know far too late from the diplomatic files about the way certain envoys—because of mere partiality or a personal antipathy—influenced the attitudes of their countries' representatives toward the policy of the country they are posted in by supplying negative information.

[Passage omitted recalling the 13 false documents sent in February 1918 by U.S. Ambassador Francis to Washington to prove Soviet contacts with the German General Staff, which were published with the U.S. President's knowledge and approval]

Further proof of pressure by anti-Soviet hysterics, up to Bukovsky's reception in the White House, could be mentioned. If a person who had violated the basic code of his country and is opposing detente is being eulogized by the official head of another country, is this not an example of how illusion is held to be the reality? In such instances it is not easy to draw objective conclusions and to seek the right path toward mutual understanding, and surely mutual understanding is the inevitable condition for the search of mutually acceptable agreements.

In its relations with other states the USSR proceeds from the priority of the principles of peaceful coexistence. In his statement in the Kremlin the top representative of the Soviet state again stressed his conviction that a realistic policy and the willingness to implement the detente must win in the end.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FDJ DELEGATION MEETS RCP OFFICIALS IN BUCHAREST

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jul 77 p 2 AU

[Text] Bucharest (ADN)—At the end of its visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania, which lasted several days, the FDJ delegation headed by Egon Krenz, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and First Secretary of the FDJ Central Council, was received in the RCP Central Committee. During the exchange of opinions Emil Bobu, member of the Political Executive Committee and Secretary of the RCP Central Committee, paid tribute to the favorably developing relations between the GDR and Romania. Egon Krenz reported on the activities of the GDR Youth Association in implementing the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress.

The concluding talks, held at the seat of the Romanian Communist Youth Association (UTC) Central Committee building, were focused on questions of international activity of both youth associations and the further deepening of cooperation between the FDJ and the UTC in the spirit of the agreements of the GDR's and the Socialist Republic of Romania's party and state leaderships. It was agreed to further develop and deepen the relations of friendship and cooperation between the GDR's and the Socialist Republic of Romania's youth as a contribution to consolidating the friendship of the socialist countries, and to promoting the cause of peace, socialism and international cooperation. The delegation has meanwhile returned to the GDR.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

YUGOSLAVIA AWARDS MEDALS TO SED OFFICIALS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Jul 77 p 2 AU

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On behalf of Josip Broz Tito, president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, (SFRY) and of the SFRY government Milos Melovski, SFRY ambassador to the GDR, on Tuesday awarded the "Order of the Yugoslav Star with Ribbon" to Erich Mielke and Quenter Mittag, members of the SED Central Committee Politburo, for their merits in developing and deepening relations between the SED and the LCY and the GDR and the SFRY. Other GDR personages were also honored with Yugoslav Decorations.

Ambassador Melovski in a speech paid tribute to the high level of the relations between the two parties, states and peoples. Quenter Mittag expressed thanks for the honor on behalf of those who were awarded medals. He characterized it as symbolic of the close cooperation and friendship between the two socialist countries, which was given new, important stimuli by the meetings of Erich Honecker and Josip Broz Tito in Berlin and Belgrade.

ALBANIA

DELAYS IN DELIVERY OF IMPORTS DEPLORED AT TRADE UNION CONGRESS

Imported Equipment For Ballsh Refinery Lacking

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 23 Jun 77 p 2

[Speech by Thanas Gjoka, delegate from Fier District to the Eighth Congress of Trade Unions]

[Excerpts] As we know, the Ballsh petroleum refinery should have begun operations long ago. However, the lack of materials and machinery to be supplied from outside has seriously delayed putting it into operation in accordance with the schedule set in the state plan. There have been many delays on the part of the Ministry of Trade and its import enterprises in supplying materials and machinery on time. This has created great difficulties for us and has seriously damaged the economic interests of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This is not right and is not in the interest of our working class, the builder of this great work. We ask the government to take the necessary measures so that the foreign trade organs will speed up the import from abroad of the few essential materials needed to put the Ballsh petroleum refinery into operation.

Delays in Deliveries Slow Elbasan Plant Construction

Tirana ZERI I POPULIT in Albanian 22 Jun 77 p 2

[Speech by Maqo Polena, delegate from Elbasan District to the Eighth Congress of Trade Unions]

[Excerpts] The metallurgical combine [in Elbasan] is the largest project of the five-year plan. Our collective, composed of many thousands of persons, is determined to construct the combine completely, on schedule. However, we have run into difficulties with the comrades who deal with foreign trade and imports. In fact, we are experiencing delays because some equipment and machinery which are necessary for the complete construction of the combine and which are supposed to come from abroad are late and are not being brought to us in accordance with the schedules set. We construction workers at the combine want to keep the pledges which we have made and to keep the word which we have given to the party. Therefore, we criticize the Ministry of Trade and the Ministry of Industry and Mines, as the investors, and we ask them to take all necessary measures to bring imported materials and equipment on time, in a manner which will create conditions for us to complete the construction of the combine on schedule. More delays should not be permitted because they cause great damage to our people's economy.

DEPUTY MINISTER CALLS FOR HIGHER MILITARY DISCIPLINE

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 5, 1977 pp 3-7

[Article by Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, deputy minister of national defense: "For High Military Discipline"]

[Text] The 11th BCP Congress raised particularly sharply the question of strengthening discipline in the country. The Accountability Report states the following: "For example, we cannot be satisfied with the current status of discipline...The problem of discipline is not simply economic. It is a manifestation of the extent reached in the development of the socialist personality, the level of conscientiousness and responsibility to oneself and society and, in the final account, the attitude of the individual toward the socialist system."

Whereas the question of discipline assumes such a great importance to the solution of economic problems and the work of the civilian institutions in the country, at the present stage in its development, its significance becomes far greater in terms of upgrading the combat readiness and capability of the Bulgarian People's Army on the level of modern requirements.

The complex and responsible problems resolved by the army in both peace—and wartimes demand the presense of iron military discipline. Furthermore, the military organism is so structured and has such a complex division of labor and functions among the individual organs that without solid discipline its normal functioning would be impossible. The great importance of military discipline also stems from the fact that as the armed force and weapon of the people's regime, the army can exist only with absolute controllability and strict obedience to the will of the party and the people. This is inconceivable without discipline. Otherwise it could turn into its opposite and become a source of anarchy and insecurity instead of a bulwark of peace and security.

Unlike the capitalist armies where discipline is built on fear and drill, in the socialist armies discipline is conscious. This is entirely natural. It stems from the different natures and class-political purposes of these armies.

"In the capitalist armies," M. I. Kalinin used to say, "it is necessary to deceive and suppress by all possible means the political awareness of the soldiers' masses. Conversely, our political workers must preach purity and their truth for which the Soviet people are fighting and develop with all possible forces, in the spirit of this truth, the political awareness of Red Army and Navy men."²

The conscious discipline of the armies of the socialist countries has major advantages over the coercive discipline in the bourgeois armies. Its main advantage lies in its strength. It converts the will of thousands of soldiers into a single will and insures the coordinated and impeccable work of the military organism, greatly multiplying the combat power of the army, creating prerequisites for maintaining high combat readiness, and insuring the possibility to retain the army's combat capability under all circumstances.

Military discipline is a complex concept. It has a great variety of different aspects most important among which are obeying orders, firm observance of regulations, maintaining training discipline, discipline in operating equipment and armaments (technical discipline), planning and accountability discipline, discipline in the use of material and financial funds, and others. All aspects of military discipline are related to the army's combat readiness. However, most important in this respect is execution of orders, i.e., the development in the personnel of the firm habit of obeying orders and instructions issued by seniors strictly, accurately, fully, and promptly.

The number and nature of disciplinary violations committed by the personnel are the main indicator of the existence of disciplinary weaknesses. However, this is not to say that all discipline violations are caused by lack of discipline. There are cases in which they are due to insufficient training and skills, poor psychophysical condition of the troops, structural defects and breakdowns of equipment, and others. Such cases must be taken into consideration when analyzing the condition of discipline.

The strengthening of military discipline calls for the steady concern and efforts of the entire personnel. We must develop in the troops an awareness of the great significance of obeying orders and develop in them the necessary habits persistently and adamantly, with all possible means. The personal example of commanders plays a particularly important role in this respect. Any officer who wants to be a good commander and to have the moral right to demand of his subordinates impeccable execution of his orders should obey impeccably and give an example in executing orders issued by senior commanders. As the great Russian educator K. D. Ushinskiy writes, "The influence of the personality of the educator on the young soul is the type of educational force which cannot be replaced by textbooks, moral sentences or a system of punishments and rewards." 3

The execution of orders presumes the inner organization of the soldier and his ability to structure his work in such a way that he may execute the order at all cost, accurately, and on time. It also presumes the existence of firm will, adamancy and persistence in surmounting arising difficulties. However, since the execution of orders is not optional but is a firm obligation, in turn it also contributes to the development of such noble virtues in the soldiers.

The execution of orders calls for the precise and prompt reporting of orders received to the senior commander. This could be accomplished through verbal or written reports. To this purpose, orders, directives, and instructions received are recorded by staffs, services, and individual soldiers, and their implementation is systematically controlled.

Another major direction in strengthening military discipline is improving internal discipline and internal and guard service. In the army internal discipline is based strictly in accordance with military regulations. It must meet strict requirements. It provides conditions for the normal functioning of the entire army organism and for developing in the troops lasting habits. This is absolutely necessary for the successful solution of the responsible problems related to training and education and for maintaining permanent high-level combat readiness in the units.

The proper organization and performance of internal and guard duty service is the core of internal discipline and its main regulator. The main purpose of internal and guard duty service is to maintain internal order and the protection and defense of the units and other important targets and, if necessary, to raise them to a higher level of combat readiness. That is why all measures aimed at improving internal discipline begin with making internal and guard duty service strictly consistent with regulations. Even the slightest deviation or violation of regulations in this respect creates prerequisites for disciplinary violations.

The condition of the internal order largely depends also on observing the daily schedule. This is the basis for the organization of the training process and of overall army life in the units. Practical experience has unequivocally proved that wherever the observance of the daily schedule has not become a law no regular and complete training process is possible and no normal conditions are provided for the solution of all other problems. In the final account, this has an adverse effect on the conditions of the units' battle readiness.

Let us note in this connection the great role of the regular implementation of the training process with a full load carried by the personnel in terms of strengthening the discipline. K. Marx and F. Engels themselves pointed out the tremendous role which labor plays in shaping a person and in the development of society. We could similarly say that as the most important realm of military work, the training process in the army has a tremendous educational, organizing, and disciplining role. It not only enriches the

knowledge of the troops but engages their attention, teaches them systematic and organized work, and develops in them a feeling of order and discipline. Such an influence of the training process on troop discipline has been noted by many famous military leaders and great military educators.

High level training discipline presumes that the planning and conduct of training will be strictly consistent with regulations (organizational-methodical instructions, curricula, courses, directions, and others), total coverage of all training matters in the individual topics, strict observance and packing of training time, insuring 100 percent participation and high activeness of the personnel in the training, full material support for each class, and others.

Strengthening the discipline calls for paying special attention to the struggle for the elimination of gross violations. This struggle must be waged adamantly, systematically, and consistently with all available forces and means. The main prerequisite for the elimination of gross disciplinary violations is the establishment of a solid internal discipline, effective and purposeful political education work, and a full training process. Commanders, political organs, and all other officers, sergeants, and party and Komsomol organizations must participate in such activities.

The profound study of the personnel and of their feelings and moods by commanders and political workers is a major prerequisite for the successful elimination of severe disciplinary violations. More active and purposeful individual work must be done with military servicemen who are experiencing a mental depression, face a complex family situation, or have a tendency to engage in extreme decisions or actions, with a view to extracting them from their condition, suppressing in them any criminal inclination, and helping them to become part of the military collectives. In this respect the collectives have a great responsibility. Within them proper relations must be developed among the different categories of military personnel. They must maintain a cheerful atmosphere. Mockery and excesses with individual soldiers which could create prerequisites for disciplinary violations should not be allowed to occur. Such actions must be fought both officially as well as through the party and Komsomol organizations.

The struggle for high military discipline is inseparable from the struggle against alcoholism. Experience has indicated that the use of alcohol most frequently leads to gross disciplinary violations. In this case administrative measures banning the introduction of alcohol in barracks and restricting access to establishments should be combined with extensive explanatory work on the harm caused by alcohol and the adoption of other measures to educate the military personnel in a spirit of sobriety.

In the struggle with violations related to the safekeeping, maintenance, and operation of weapons and equipment, and against possible breakdowns, particular attention should be paid to the specialized training and discipline of drivers, mechanics-drivers, fliers, and others.

Sergeants' councils, officers' courts of honor, and military tribunals play a positive role in the struggle against disciplinary violations by discussing gross disciplinary violations or immoral actions committed by military servicemen.

Military discipline cannot be strengthened without comprehensively upgrading the exactingness of the command personnel at all levels in terms of strict obedience, and the maintenance of firm order according to regulations. We must wage a systematic and a decisive struggle against manifestations of liberalism, wrong benevolence, and tolerance on the part of commanders toward discipline violators.

At the same time, continual concern must be displayed for improving the disciplinary practice of the command personnel at all levels. Commanders must be taught not to ignore a single disciplinary violation. All imposed penalties must be consistent with the violation and contribute to the education of the violator. In no case should we allow the imposition of penalties which degrade the personnel, create hatred, and develop prerequisites for new violations. Positive actions by military personnel concerning the discipline should also be noted and rewarded.

Furthermore, disciplinary and judicial measures taken to strengthen the discipline must be combined with extensive educational work. Together with commanders and political organs party and Komsomol organizations, and the entire army public must become most energetically involved in such activities. We must not forget that in a number of cases the educational influence of the public on discipline violators could be far stronger than that of penalties.

The disciplinary actions of military servicemen as well as penalties and rewards must be strictly recorded by the units and periodically subjected to extensive studies by the respective commanders. Studies of the condition of the discipline play an important role in its strengthening if properly prepared, and if the nature and trends of violations are fully disclosed along with the conditions and reasons which have created them, and provided that expedient measures have been earmarked to insure their elimination.

The struggle for strong military discipline must become a matter of honor for every military serviceman. It must be waged with a clear understanding of the importance of discipline to the combat readiness and capability of the units. This will be our answer to the requirements set by our party in the July plenum decisions which called for better quality and effectiveness in overall army life.

FOOTNOTES

- 1. T. Zhivkov, "Otchet na TsK na BKP za Perioda Mezhdu Desetiya i Edinadesetiya Kongres i Predstoyashtite Zadachi" [BCP Central Committee Report on the Period Between the 10th and 11th Congresses and the Forthcoming Tasks], Partizdat, Sofia, 1976, p 113.
- 2. M. I. Kalinin, "O Kommunisticheskom Vospitanii i Voinskom Dolge" [On Communist Education and Military Duty], p 125.
- 3. K. D. Ushinskiy, "Soch." [Works], Vol 2, Izd. APN RSFSR, 1948, pp 63-64.

5003

AIRMEN MUST LEARN TO NAVIGATE WITHOUT AID FROM GROUND

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 5, 1977 pp 114-117

[Article by Col Mitko Kuzmanov, docent, candidate of military sciences: "Navigation Training of Fliers"]

[Text] The contemporary military flier must have high political, operative-tactical, and specialized training.

Navigation is one of the important specialized types of fliers' training. In order to make effective use of the aircraft for hitting enemy targets, the fliers must be able to find their way in the air, to know their position and direction of their flight, and what to do in order to resume proper course and take their airplanes (helicopters) to the indicated area and over the indicated target. Navigation, and piloting and tactical techniques have been, and remain, the conditions determining the combat capability of the air force. If crews are unable to find their way in day and night flights, in simple or complex meteorological conditions, or at low and extremely low altitudes or in the stratosphere, they are considered non-combat capable. They would be unable to fly along stipulated routes and carry out their assignments. This applies to the flight personnel of all air force branches.

That is why we could justifiably consider that navigation is an essential part not only in navigators' training but in determining the combat capability of the flight personnel. This is also the reason for which great attention is being paid to this matter by air force commanders and staffs at all levels.

Airmen are taught navigation in air force schools and air force units. In the schools they master navigation theory and practice. Here they acquire the necessary knowledge, skills, habits, experience, and ability to find their own way in the air and, if necessary, to use the assistance of command centers. However, at school they study the most general and practically most necessary parts of airplane navigation theory. In the course of training flights not all means are applied and taught and not all technical facilities for aircraft navigation are used.

In aviation units and subunits the fliers must not only keep up their navigation training acquired at the air force school but steadily broaden their theoretical knowledge and practical skills. They must make a more profound study of theory by studying all airplane navigation methods, closely linked with problems of navigation tactics and techniques, on a strictly specialized basis applicable to their own aviation branch and type of aircraft (helicoptor). The skills, ability, and experience in navigation under all meteorological conditions, day or night, at all altitudes, and in the operative-tactical circumstances also consistent with the type of air force branch and type of aircraft (helicopter) must be consolidated and improved.

Officials and instances whose duty involves the training of airmen to navigate are also responsible for insuring the flight of the airplanes (helicopters) along the assigned routes and for taking them to the target areas. In this respect the command points and the navigators play an important role. They include officers with high operative-tactical and excellent navigation training. Such officers have mastered to perfection the theory and practice of navigation and of directing the airplanes to their targets and are able to train the airmen properly.

The modern command points have great possibilities for exercizing navigation control. The high-level training of their crews makes it possible to guide the airmen continuously from takeoff to landing. Such a navigation method yields good results. The fliers in all air force branches trust entirely the orders issued by the navigators. Such orders take them along the assigned route and to the target and, after the attack, take them back to the landing fields. This is done night and day, under simple or complex meteorological conditions. The command points could provide such aircraft guidance whatever the assignment of the air force may be.

In peacetime training, however, such a navigation method should not be applied. In this case the crew of the command point and, above all, the navigators provide the navigation while the airmen automatically obey the orders issued from the ground. This does not contribute to upgrading their navigation training. Furthermore, it worsens the training. The airmen begin to underestimate the importance of navigation training and neglect their own aircraft navigation training. They develop the harmful concept that the command points and, above all, the navigators are responsible for the navigation while their own task is to take off, pilot the airplanes along the route by obeying the navigators' orders, carry out their assignments in the target area, and land. Their habits and skills in the use of various navigation methods and the use of technical facilities other than those of the command point vanish. The situation may even reach the point at which some fliers believe that they are not responsible for the navigation and that this is the exclusive obligation of the command points.

This is a dangerous concept which demobilizes the airmen both on the ground and in the air. It leads to slackness, to shallow preliminary and preflight training, and to excessive trust in the crews of command points.

This could lead to the conclusion that command points are harmful and that their use always worsens the training of the airmen in navigation and, therefore, that they should not exist. This would be a wrong conclusion. In times of war the command points will have a number of assignments. carry out responsible assignments under peacetime conditions as well. no case, however, should we allow now their exclusive control over aircraft navigation instead of control by airborne fliers. In peacetime the command points could provide the navigation, as we indicated at the beginning, whatever the flight conditions may be. In times of war, however, the situation would be different. Quite frequently there will be cases in which the technical assistance and facilities will be disturbed by the enemy instruments for radioelectronic struggle or as a result of nuclear explosions. The navigators would be unable to lead and guide the aircraft in the air uninterruptedly. Under such circumstances the fliers will have to carry out their assignments by themselves, without the help of command points, do their own navigation, and take their own airplanes to the target and back.

However, such navigation could be performed only by fliers who have been trained for this in peacetime, and who have learned to rely exclusively on their own abilities and to apply all navigation facilities, and use all technical facilities available for navigation in the aircraft (helicopter) or on the ground. In order to achieve this, it is necessary now, in peacetime, for command points and direction and target indication points to be used not for navigation purposes but for controlling the navigation operations of the airmen and for training the flight personnel in navigation.

Commanders, staffs, and airmen must be deeply convinced that in peacetime the fliers and not the command points are responsible for navigation. It is on this basis that commanders must assign tasks to the flight personnel without conventions while the fliers must be trained in such a way as to be able to carry out their flights without the help of command points. Should failures in navigation occur it is they, above all, who should be held answerable.

The command points must guide the airplanes in the air when such guidance is necessary, rather than supervise the fliers uninterruptedly, thus preventing them from carrying out independently their flight assignments and depriving them of initiative and creativity. Commanders must not seek reinsurance by making total use of command points for navigation purposes instead of assigning them control functions. Flight safety could be insured also when the command points are used to provide objective control over navigation while the flight personnel prepare themselves better for the flights. The organization and conduct of

preliminary and preflight preparations should include navigation problems as well. However, they should be considered independently of the command points. We must not mix airmen's navigation with the navigation provided by the command point. It must be considered that the points have become inoperative and do not exist. This is the spirit in which the readiness of the flight personnel for planned flights must be checked. It is self-evident that fliers who have not mastered the problems under consideration in terms of navigation and have not prepared themselves for an autonomous flight, without the help of the command point, should be grounded.

Commanders and staffs must adopt such a concept also when assignments are given to the crews of command points. They must be very well-familiar with their control functions and distinguish between controlling navigation and providing navigation instructions.

The navigators must strictly control the flight of the aircraft without interfering and dictating flight conditions. They must allow the fliers to cover the route themselves and come back by themselves to the airfield and break through the clouds. They must find their own way in the air and determine their location. The command point must intervene only if so requested by the flier or in the case of a serious violation of the flight schedule which threatens the safety of the flier or of the other airplanes in the air and may result in the nonfulfillment of the flight's purpose.

Any deviation from the flight program should be noted, recorded, and reported to the senior navigator. In the navigation analysis of the flights and, above all, the navigation of the aircraft, the errors of the fliers must be made public. They must be profoundly studied and measures must be earmarked for the elimination of occurred weaknesses. The culprits must be held liable.

Both fliers and command point crews must be trained to follow this system of operations. The uninterrupted guidance of the flier by the command point must be considered a violation for which both the flier and the navigator must be held accountable.

The use of the command point as a control organ in navigation would indeed help the airmen in acquiring specialized navigation training. It would force them not to rely on the command point in the air and to prepare themselves for the flight very thoroughly. It would force them to become familiar with the theory and practice of navigation and to enrich steadily their skills and habits.

The control functions of the command point will make the flight personnel observe accurately the flight program, for any deviation would be recorded by the navigators and would result in proper consequences in the study of the flights. At the same time the control functions of the command points in the field of navigation will give the airmen confidence in their own

forces. Carrying out flights without deviations, as confirmed by the command point, will convince the fliers of the accuracy of their actions and of the instruments' readings and will relieve them from a feeling of paralysis and suppressed feelings. They will become initiative—minded and efficient, and will react with great precision to the circumstances developed in the air.

The control functions of the command point will make it incumbent upon their crews and, above all, the navigators to follow the flights and to be ready at any time to give the necessary assistance to the airplanes. Fulfilling duplicating and reserve functions in peacetime, in turn they thus train themselves for command point navigation which will be frequently used in times of war.

With such a system of operations and interaction between the command point and the fliers the best possible conditions are created for navigation training not only of the flight personnel but of the navigators themselves. The flight personnel develop the idea that they themselves are responsible for navigation. This forces them to steadily improve their navigation training. At the same time the control functions of the command point convince the flier that, if necessary, as a reserve navigation method, it will always lead the flier over the target and assist him in carrying out his assignment. Such an interrelationship enables the command points to actively participate in the navigation training of the fliers.

The author of this article directs the attention of air force readers to one of the important problems of flight combat training. Defending his thesis he indicates the means which, in his view, lead to the desired purpose: upgrading the navigation training of the flight personnel.

Differing viewpoints or additional explanations of some aspects of this matter are not excluded. The editors await the competent view of other aviation specialists—fliers, navigators, and commanders.

5003

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WESTERN INVENTIONS ABOUT EUROCOMMUNISM SCORED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jul 77 p 6

[Article by Miroslav Kubin: "A European Affliction"]

[Text] Mankind will always invent various names for various afflictions, some of them quite original, some quite inaccurate, others just so, following local whims. A certain discreet disease, for example, used to be called "the French disease" in England and vice versa, "the English disease" in France. To this day cholera is called "The Asiatic disease" and on the other hand, influenza "Spanish flu."

Such "national" terminology has recently been affecting even politics. Thus, for example, the chronic weakness of the British pound has been termed as "the British disease" on the pages of West European and U.S. press and the name "Italian disease" describes the bottomless Italian treasury where billions in loans are disappearing every year.

Of course, there are other, by far more serious afflictions from which more or less all the West European countries and even the United States are suffering. Therefore, it would not be just to call them according to this or that country. Certainly unemployment cannot be called a purely American disease or inflation, for instance, by the Latin term "Morbus Britannicus." After all, even the official government physicians are keeping their "professional secrecy" about such chronic afflictions and leading politicians are even proclaiming that all of West Europe can be fit as a fiddle again, so that allegedly even its present generation could live to see not only a customs but also political union. For that purpose direct elections to a "European parliament" are also in preparation. Such a restored Europe could allegedly become a full-fledged partner of the United States in the North Atlantic Pact, because it would then be able to vote more easily and readily the financial funds for the standardization of arms and a more equitable increase of military budgets.

Behind the political scene, however, all is not so simple as in a physician's office. It is not enough to dispense injections here and pills there or to bleed the patient in the old-fashioned way. As a matter of fact, the chief

consulting physician and a council of wise seniors in Washington's Capitol are still keeping their watch over the well-being of Southern and Western Europe. And during their recent emergency visit to several European cities they made a diagnosis that in addition to the common, so to say traditional, afflictions it is still suspected that Western Europe is suffering from some kind of a progressive disease for which a medical term is still being sought. That is a problem because the cause of the disease is not yet adequately known. Allegedly it seems to be some sort of neurosis caused by the "bacteria of communism" (Bacillus Communis) adapted to the climatic conditions of Europe's warmer zone. So far, this type of illness was given a "working" name of "neurocommunism." The affliction is said to appear particularly in the area of politics.

The U.S. President James Carter immediately ordered a medical alert or even a quarantine of the bacteria-carriers (which is customary in the United States), because what would the NATO council do if also ministers afflicted with "neurocommunism" would become members of some governments?

Several prominent members of the U.S. Congress, such as Robert Byrd, the current Democratic Party leader in the Senate, Clem Zablocki, the new chairman of the House Committee for International Affairs, and Frank Church of the Senate Committee for International Relations, have already organized some kind of a supreme consulting commission for "neurocommunism" and made it known that their recommendation would be even stricter than that of Carter himself and of his Secretary of State Vance.

The former Secretary of State H. Kissinger is also regarded as an outstanding expert on "neurocommunism." Recently in his lecture at the Wilson International Center he warned that "neurocommunism"—should the governments of the West European countries fail to cope with it preventively—could undermine the morale and destroy the nerves and the political base of the Atlantic Alliance. Therefore, it allegedly cannot be tolerated to let the "bacteria-carriers" have access to ministerial chairs.

Certain politicians suspected of "neurocommunism" immediately reported for a medical examination and even for a special check-up so as to reassure Carter and his council that "neurocommunism" is not at all dangerous for the indigenous Atlantic strata. In a better bourgeois society it may be even rather "salonfaehig"—able to enter the drawing room. One of the suspected bacteria—carriers even assured the monarchist circles that they need not feel antagonism to "neurocommunism" or abhor it. According to its description, it is said to be a harmless, almost merely mental phenomenon which cannot shake up the stability of the existing political system, not even change the military balance in Europe.

West German experts on "neurocommunism" on the other hand prepared a comprehensive theory on how to utilize this "harmless affliction" if not for the purpose of an economic, at least a political miracle. Allegedly, if the consulting physicians prescribed their patients a more substantial diet, the "neurocommunists" could be quite useful for the political aims

of the Western bourgeois governments. At the same time it is said to be necessary to adhere to the homeopathic therapy according to the principle "similia similibus curantur," which means "like things are cured by like." (The patients are given considerably diluted doses of those substances that at a higher dosage cause similar symptoms in healthy individuals as the disease which is being treated.) And thus, whoever in the West wants to combat communism, should allegedly use for that purpose "neurocommunism" as a highly diluted dose of "communism" which then displays an anticommunist effect.

In the daily FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE Johann Georg Reissmueller offered the following explanation: West allegedly should not be neglecting "neurocommunism" which could cause a split in the world communist movement. The leading bourgeois politicians allegedly should be careful lest they miss their great opportunity because of a lack of imagination.

Of course, Reissmueller's advice only rehashed various recipes for "great opportunities" which have been prepared for the ruling monopolistic bourgeoisie in huge anticommunist laboratories.

The most learned ideologists at various universities and institutions in the United States and Western Europe are specializing in the "split" in the communist movement. In order to encourage their imagination herbs are being imported recently from as far as China and some medicinal plants even from the mountains of Albania. Also, some former novices in medical arts from Czechoslovakia are now making their living as herbalists in various West European countries and trying their luck as political-medical advisors on the affairs of "neurocommunism." Many of them have tried the same already in 1968 in Czechoslovakia. At that time their miraculous cosmetic products for "human faces" did not succeed at all, despite the admiration for them expressed in bourgeois drawing rooms. And thus even those who would like to cultivate "neurocommunism" as an anticommunist device will not derive much medical wisdom from them. So far, of course, that affliction defies any scientific research in depth, since it has never "proven" successful anywhere in practice and its bacteria are barely surviving on the meager tissues without any nutritive fluids. It seems, therefore, that experiments with "neurocommunism" could be conducted only in laboratories which so far have specialized exclusively in anticommunism.

9004

LUCAN: FUTURE PLANS FOR CSSR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 26, 29 Jun 77 pp 3, 4

[Article by Deputy Premier of the CSSR Matej Lucan: "The School of Today and Tomorrow"]

[Text] The school year in which the program for the further development of the Czechoslovak educational system began to be implemented is coming to an end. It is a long-term program of the policy of the Communist Party and of our socialist state in the area of education and training for the next 10-15 years. We may briefly characterize its direction as follows: It involves thorough modernization of the contents, forms and methods of the work of our schools so as to bring them into harmony with the latest achievements of sciences and technology and with the needs of our developed socialist society. On the basis of a more rational arrangement of the functions and correlations of individual links and levels of school education, the democratic character of our school system will be even more intensified and school education and upbringing brought closer to the life and practice of building of socialism.

Naturally, the implementation of these plans in practice cannot avoid certain changes in the internal life of the school as well as in its functional and organizational system. Such adjustments involve the school system as a unit as well as its individual sectors and levels. After their complete implementation a qualitatively new situation will develop in our educational system to correspond with the growing demands on man's training posed by our developed socialist society.

At the same time we must not forget that an improvement in the work of our educational system is not only a matter of education, but also an important political question. A broad spectrum of society-wide problems and tasks is reflected every day in our educational system. Its development requires a considerable quota of the national revenue; simultaneously it contributes in a decisive extent to the reproduction of our new labor force and to higher qualifications, culture and socialist consciousness of the people, particularly of the young generation. It develops its social activity and shapes its fundamental views of the world, communist

ethics and political attitudes. Therefore, the school policy of the party and of our socialist state must tenaciously and with an adequate headstart organize the educational system so as to bring its level not only up to the present but also up to the future needs.

Without Blind Alleys

We used to criticize our school frequently for not being consistent enough in its educational impact on the youth and for underestimating the formative aspect of the educational-training process. Some school curricula and textbooks no longer corresponded with the latest scientific knowledge and educational research. That affected the procedural aspect of the socialist education and training. Negative consequences in the functional orientation and in the contents of the educational and training process became evident especially at the secondary level--in secondary schools, secondary trade schools and in vocational institutions. The excessively general orientation of the instruction in secondary schools failed to provide necessary preconditions for those graduates who did not continue their education in colleges to enable them to find appropriate practical employment. On the other hand, the graduates of secondary trade schools and many students at higher educational institutions had gaps in their general education, specifically in mathematics.

The demand for a new formulation of the function and contents of the activity of schools which are preparing our youth for occupations in the industry became downright acute. Most of our young people are passing through such establishments after completion of their basic school attendance. However, until recently they did not offer our youth adequate opportunities to obtain higher and the highest education.

Secondary School for All

One of the most characteristic traits of current changes in the area of education and training in socialist countries is the emphasis on a more intensive development of general education, especially on the secondary level; this is connected with an extension of the obligatory school attendance. The secondary level of school has lost its strictly selective character. The requirement of secondary-school education is applied to all youth. A closer link of the school with life and of education with production is being stressed. The development of adult education courses [by correspondence] for employed people, and the introduction of post-secondary school and post-graduate forms of education on a mass scale correspond with it. Just as the industrial revolution required the introduction of obligatory basic education, the scientific-technical revolution requires the introduction of obligatory secondary education.

We are following these aims also in our educational policy. By 1985, the school attendance will be extended to 10 years. The 10-year obligatory school attendance will be introduced in the eight-grade basic school

divided into four grades of elementary studies and four grades on the second level as well as a 2-year study at any secondary school, i.e., at 4-year secondary schools, secondary trade schools and secondary vocational institutions. Such an obligatory school attendance will have the character of secondary education.

The reconstruction of the educational system aiming at this target has begun in the first grade of the basic school during this school year. These grades have already worked according to the new educational programs, curricula and textbooks. In the next school year the second grades will switch to the new system, then the third grades, etc. Thus, before 1980 the first level of the basic school will be completely on a 4-year basis; it will follow new teaching plans, curricula and textbooks.

Meanwhile, at the second level of the basic school which—as now—will be a 4-year course also in the future, new teaching programs and curricula are being tested experimentally on those students who already in the previous 4 years attended experimentally the reduced 4-year elementary cycle. The purpose of such an experiment at the second level of the basic school is to confirm that the frontal adjustment of the teaching program for basic education from the present 9 years to 8, will be in every respect thoroughly considered, that it will reflect in the anticipated better quality of the contents, methods and forms of the educational teaching process. In the 1984-1985 school year we shall reach a stage when the entire population will be passing through an 8-year cycle on the elementary level.

In the Interest of Closer Relations

The purpose of the reconstruction of the educational system at the third level is to bring functionally closer and thus, also to put on an equal basis all three systems of secondary schools—the academic secondary schools, the secondary trade schools and the vocational schools training the youth for blue—collar occupations. This involves yet another fundamental purpose of the program for improved operations of our educational system.

The reconstruction of the educational system at the secondary level is unambiguously directed toward rebuilding the present vocational institutions as an equal system offering secondary and complete secondary education. For that reason the present trade and vocational schools are undergoing a gradual reconstruction into 2-year to 3-year and also 4-year secondary trade institutions. In addition to a worker's qualification, in the first two grades they will also provide the completion of the obligatory 10-year school attendance and they will offer comprehensive secondary education and after 4 years the complete secondary education concluded by the secondary school graduation examination.

Naturally, this new functional orientation of the vocational educational system is connected with a fundamental reconstruction of its contents, forms and organization of the curriculum. It requires the necessary consolidation of general education; the apprentices will then reach the level of the secondary school students.

By 1980, 7 percent of our youth is to obtain complete secondary education in 4-year secondary trade institutions. When we add to it 43 percent of the youth who will obtain complete secondary education in academic secondary schools and secondary trade schools, in 1980 already some 50 percent of the population in our country will have obtained complete 12-year secondary education through regular daytime schools. In the following years this percentage will be increased every year. Thus, we shall reach a new, higher level in the development of education in the CSSR. Opportunities are being created for the majority of our young people in this country to obtain complete secondary education. Others who will constitute a distinctly smaller group will obtain a good 10-year secondary education. At the same time, the road to complete secondary education will not be closed even for this small part of the youth; it will be accessible particularly in the form of adult education.

New System Also in the Higher Educational Institutions

Reconstruction of the study program is under way also in higher educational institutions. Its contents, methods and organization of the educational training process are being modernized and rationalized. In connection with it the optimum term for higher study is being determined; the planning of a post-graduate study system is taking place.

In general, the current situation in higher educational institutions may be characterized as favorable. The purposeful and high-principled policy of the CPCZ and of the socialist state after the 15th congress has prompted the Czechoslovak higher educational institutions to responsibly fulfill their basic tasks in the area of education, instruction, scientific research program and also in the relation to the social practice.

The political atmosphere in higher educational institutions is characterized by the positive attitude of teachers and students toward the policy of the CPCZ, which is evident also in their social and political involvement. A great number of new teachers has been transferred from practice to higher educational institutions. This has a positive effect on the overall activity of higher educational institutions. More than 60 percent of the students come from blue-collar and farmers' families, which corresponds to the social structure of our society.

The educational discipline and the approach of the advanced schools' students to the fulfillment of their educational tasks and duties have become evidently stronger. At most higher educational institutions the number of students who dropped out because of failing grades has been reduced by more than one-half.

A significant success has been achieved at the higher educational institutions also in the area of the scientific research program, especially in solution of tasks of production and social practice. This is evident in the fields of technology, agriculture, natural sciences, medicine and to some extent also in social sciences. The volume of the scientific research and professional activities which the higher educational institutions are contributing to the solution of socially beneficial tasks has been expanded. Also, the participation of the students in the students' scientific and professional activities as well as the quality of their achievements are increasing.

The obtained achievements, however, do not imply that certain serious problems and shortcomings no longer exist at higher educational institutions. They appear in education and training, in the scientific research program, in the area linking higher educational institutions with practice and in the cadre and material supply of their operations. To solve such problems, the presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government recently adopted a system of important measures which are now being gradually implemented.

An important part of communist education is the Marxist-Leninist training. The level of the instruction in Marxism-Leninism has an ascending tendency. However, certain shortcomings still exist, namely, in the different quality of individual teacher's work as well as in the attitudes of certain students. In order to overcome such problems, a more comprehensive selection and training of teachers of Marxism-Leninism will be required most of all. However, all expert educators must bear responsibility for the quality of education. The instruction of all subjects and a bilateral intensification of the cooperation of specialized departments and institutes dealing with Marxism-Leninism must correspond with that.

To Respond to Practical Needs

The objective needs have called for some necessary changes also in the special preparation of the cadres education in higher educational institutions.

Although in their overwhelming majority the graduates of our higher educational institutions have proved their mettle in practical employment, new tasks stemming from the development of sciences and technology and from the needs of practical application demand further improvements in the activity of our higher educational institutions.

The contents, methods and forms of teaching at higher educational institutions must respond more systematically and comprehensively to the achievements of sciences and technology as well as to practical needs; the scientific research work must be focused on the demands of society. These targets are followed also in the reconstruction of the higher educational institutions.

On the basis of the scientific progress and of practical needs, the structure of the fields of study and their deployment in the network of the higher educational institutions is therefore being reviewed. The number of the subjects of study is being expanded, the number of specializations reduced, and the contents of study re-evaluated so as to eliminate outdated information, encyclopedism and duplication.

The purpose of such effort is to bring up graduates with broader proficiency. The aforementioned intent will be supported by a more thorough implementation of scientific methods of administration and organization of the educational process, a broader introduction of didactic and instrument technology.

Training of Talents

Among the important tasks of the higher educational institutions are the selection and training of the exceptionally gifted and talented students—especially the individually planned care for their specialization and political growth. So far such care has been insufficiently developed. Evidently, that is not right. The care for the talented students is objectively important not only concerning the solution of the tasks of scientific research but also from the point of view of the preparation of the cadre reserves for the educational process and for the fields of science and research. Therefore, conditions for an intensive care for the exceptionally gifted and talented students must be fostered with tenacity of purpose.

With a rapid progress in sciences and technology also the importance of adult education for employees has increased. It offers them an opportunity to obtain education in higher educational institutions without interrupting their employment. If such study is to become a meaningful component of the educational and training process, its system must be sufficiently flexible in order to enable a substantially higher number of candidates than thus far to obtain education in higher educational institutions.

Adult education will make it possible to solve also the increased interest in the study of those fields where so far it has not been possible to admit all talented applicants for daytime classes. In the interest of the development of adult education it will be necessary to build additional centers for correspondence courses and evening classes in conjunction with large enterprises and in more cities besides those where higher educational institutions are located.

Innovation, Specialization, Re-Qualification

At the present time a distinctive development of post-graduate studies is evident in all socialist countries. This is being brought about by the development of sciences and technology as well as by practical needs. In

our country it has been developed so far only in the fields of medicine, veterinary medicine and in pedagogical subjects. The post-graduate study in technical, agricultural and economic higher educational institutions at present appears rather in the form of courses organized according to the demands of the ministries. Therefore, the ministries of education were assigned the task of preparing in a close cooperation with other ministries a comprehensive proposal for a gradual organization of the post-graduate study system which would provide for updated information, and narrower specialization for graduates of advanced schools in the field which was the subject of their study, or as the case may be, reorientation to a different specialization.

Education in Accordance With the Needs

In the 1976-1980 period the number of students attending higher educational institutions on a full-time basis will increase from 119,264 to 145,000. In addition, about 4,000 foreign students will study at Czechoslovak higher educational institutions in 1980. The number of working people enrolled in adult education courses will increase to 37,000. At the end of this five-year plan, about 18,000 students will attend postgraduate studies. A more pronounced development of post-graduate studies will not take place until the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

In 1980, the quota of students from a pertinent year of birth who will be admitted to higher educational institutions in the CSSR will surpass 15 percent; it is anticipated that in 1985 it will amount to about 20 percent.

Thus, the rate determined of development of the higher educational institutions corresponds with the future needs of the national economy in the CSSR and agrees with the development in the industrially developed states. At the same time, it serves as a proof of the great concern of the CPCZ and the socialist state for the development of education.

9004

EAST GERMANY

WEST GERMAN ASSESSMENT OF DETERIORATING GDR IDEOLOGY

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 16/17 Jun 77 p 4 DW

[Editorial by Peter Pragal, Berlin (GDR)]

[Text] A man in East Berlin is sitting on half-packed bags and boxes who has almost everything GDR citizens would like to have: a lot of money, a remarkable estate, cars, manifold relations and, last but not least, a prominent name. And yet Manfred Krug, one of the most popular artists of the German "worker-peasant state," wants to go to the Federal Republic. "Why does he of all people want to leave?" people have been asking in a surprised way, "he actually has everything."

The restriction "actually" discloses that the asking people know or at least sense the true reason. As most inhabitants of the SED state who are not blindly devoted to the party, the theater and film star is missing freedom of movement and the right to travel to every place he wants to go. Welfare does not stop this trend. On the contrary, the recent past demonstrated that improved living standards intensify discontent with intellectual and local narrowness.

The functionaries are trying with great propaganda to counter this move and play down the attractiveness of the West with horror reports. The centrally-guided mass media permanently praise "real existing socialism" which alone can guarantee social security and a secure future. But the instruments of ideologically influencing the masses have become more blunt. The state doctrine does not penetrate the mind deeply. Wherever there is a wide difference between political claims and social realities, agitators are in a difficult position. In view of real contradictions and difficulties such beautiful words as "the bright future" of communism have the effect of balloons which are about to pop.

Loyal comrades usually discard such insight as imaginations of the "class enemy." They are operating with figures and point out that every fourth citizen authorized to participate in elections has a social function. Plan discussions in enterprises and the statements made at "public discussions" prove according to them that "socialist democracy" is functioning.

However, state ideology cannot be measured that way, particularly not in a system which educates its citizen to speak with a split tongue. Statistics say as little about agreement with the policy of the SED as the ordered jubilant cordons hailing the unity of people and party.

Although the political leadership is sticking to the fiction of joint interests of the rulers and the ruled, estrangement is rather increasing. This is taking place in a creeping process without outward concussions. All inner difficulties do not endanger the rule of the party bureaucracy. You see no such organized opposition in the GDR as you see in Poland. Nobody feels like rebelling. The rulers do not have to fear a public uprising like 24 years ago on 17 June 1953 even if they decided to have a general price increase.

And yet the SED leaders have reason enough to feel concerned. The phenomena of a spreading feeling of tiredness in regard to the state—concentration on private life, lacking work morals, unwillingness to take over responsibility, lacking political interest particularly of young people—are as dangerous as open resistance. They lead to further paralization of initiative and activity, and they intensify the communist disease, namely the lack of economic efficiency.

In the meantime the political disillusionment affects the ranks of the party. The spirit of the early years has gone, of the years when one seriously believed himself to be building a better German state. Today many old communists must realize with disappointment that significant characteristics of the SED state have little to do with revolution and socialism, but much with restoration. They are suffering from an outmoded party and state apparatus where opportunists are active, where favoritism is gaining ground, and where the loyalty of colleagues often depends on the size of their privileges. The young people who are honest are realizing that established socialism of the SED type can hardly be reformed from within.

But the worst is, according to critical communists, that the GDR society despite all differences of systems and intensified political delimitation is becoming more and more like the West German competitive state. If this process goes on, the socialist republic between Elbe and Oder will lose its ideological identity. The Federal Government really has become the uncontested model of GDR citizens in regard to consumption and way of life. Electronic mass media contribute to this as well as the millions of visitors.

Even the SED leadership, whose hunger for foreign currency seems to be bigger than its fear of being undermined, is promoting this development. By the expansion of the Intershop chains, the party, contrary to its declared intention, is pursuing some kind of convergence policy. This may be a stimulus for the Federal Republic to continue to advocate contacts over the German-German border.

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

FRENCH NATIONAL DAY MESSAGE--To the president of the French Republic, His Excellency Mr Valery Giscard d'Estaing, Palais de l'Elysee, Paris. Your Excellency: On the national holiday of the French Republic I convey to you and to the French people the congratulations of the State Council and the people of the GDR. I am most deeply convinced that the further development and deepening of the relations between the GDR and France are in line with the fundamental interests of our states and peoples, constitute an important contribution to strengthening the security and peace in Europe, and serve the continuation of detente. [signed] Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR, State Council. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jul 77 p 1 AU]

COPYRIGHT OFFICE HEAD COMMENTS ON CULTURAL EXCHANGE

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Jun 77 p 8

[Interview with Dr Istvan Timar, head of the Copyright Office, by Lajos Bodnar: "The Helsinki Pledge: Exchange of Cultural Values"]

[Text] The Office of Protection of Copyrights, the domestic institutional protector of intellectual creators and creations, has broadened the circle of its traditional authority, and fulfills an increasingly significant role in cultural exchange between countries. The conference of the organs of the socialist countries concerned with protection of copyrights held in Sofia also illustrates this well. Dr Istvan Timar, head of the Office of Protection of Copyrights and leader of the Hungarian delegation, talked about the cooperative conference, held during the first days of June.

[Question] The socialist countries' experts on copyrights met before the preparatory conference in Belgrade. Did the agenda reflect this circumstance?

[Answer] The conference's chief topics were really related to the Helsinki Final Act and the Belgrade conference, but we also talked about further opportunities of cooperation on copyrights between the socialist countries. Regarding international exchange of cultural values, the opinion has developed that there is a serious disproportion in the area of cultural exchange with the capitalist countries, to our disadvantage. The import-export balance of books and copyrights shows that significantly more works by Western authors are being published in the socialist countries. Thus, the part of the Helsinki Final Act referring to this is not being realized in practice.

[Question] What is the reason for this disproportion, and what can the organs concerned with copyright protection do in the interest of reestablishing balance?

[Answer] First of all, our delegation in Sofia called attention to the difficulties stemming from the nature of culture in the capitalist countries. During the spreading and propagandizing of our culture, we must

take into more conscious consideration than before the obvious fact that in the capitalist countries culture is a commodity; consequently it is being bought and sold as market characteristics demand. In the area of cultural life, the capitalist states' influence is actually narrower than that of the socialist states. But according to its political interests at any given time, the capitalist state can also exert the appropriate influence, through financial means. In the interest of reestablishing balance, the copyright organs primarily can offer broader selection to the foreign cultural organs, especially to book publishers, through familiarizing them more effectively and more broadly than before with our literature and other cultural interests. This is the goal of the large exposition of books to be held in Moscow in September, which will demonstrate that the socialist countries have a large number of valuable literary works which could be published in the West.

[Question] I think that today even our Western conferring partners must admit the fact that disproportion exists. What do they say in explanation?

[Answer] If we mention our just complaints, they usually refer to lack of interest of readers and the public, and to economic reasons. But reference to economic reasons cannot be accepted under any circumstances, since we also provide significant state subsidies for the works of Western authors published in Hungarian translations. As far as lack of interest is concerned, this cannot be established accurately, because in recent years very few Hungarian works were published in the West. At the same time, numerous examples prove that there is generally great interest among Western readers in literary works about socialist countries. The excuses of the capitalist publishers completely collapse when we refer to those publications which originally were not published in any of the socialist countries, but published in translation in large numbers in the West.

[Question] Domestic book stores are not lacking in critical writings, either; does the export of these present problems also?

[Answer] Those who know the Hungarian book market can verify that there are many books published here which are considered "problematical," not infrequently causing heated debates in the press. Western publishers "swooped down" on some such books. But this is becoming rarer. This is because they have discovered that regardless of the commentaries they furnish with the translation, the attacks against the socialist countries have created a situation in which the real business is only in a book that was not published in the writer's own homeland. But in our country, at most those manuscripts expressly hostile in intention cannot be published, and the number of these is exceedingly small. We have many more writers whose works are not desired in the West precisely because they, as the saying goes, criticize at home.

[Question] What weight do language barriers, the Hungarian language's relative isolation, carry in cultural exchange?

[Answer] Translation problems really represent serious obstacles for us, make the spreading of, and familiarization with, our culture, and especially our literature, difficult abroad. Therefore, we have decided at the Sofia conference to provide larger subsidies than before to translators, and we will endeavor to assist them in spending their practicing years in the given language's area. Serious opportunities are available for the socialist countries in translating works which have already been translated into languages spoken throughout the world. Through Cuba's entrance onto the copyright scene, we today can already spread the works of authors of the socialist countries in three major languages—Russian, German and Spanish. In some forms of art, the language problem is, of course, smaller. In music, for example, we might say we are a "world power." The extraordinary popularity and wide spread of the works of Bartok and Kodaly throughout the world assures an exceptional place for us.

[Question] What is the role of the organs protecting copyrights in cultural exchange among socialist countries?

[Answer] In the interest of further deepening cultural ties with socialist countries, we must first of all pay attention to the realization of previous international agreements and pacts, while also insuring that copyrights are protected. For example, the agreements should, above all, be honored, and fulfilled on time. Because, in spite of the fact that the practice of our cultural relations is balanced, and its basic principles were developed a long time ago, it does happen, even if only very rarely, that literary works are published or theatrical plays played abroad without a contract. Copyright damage cannot always be repaired by moves undertaken after the fact. It also causes concern for us when certain foreign publishers express willingness to enter into a contract only if the author agrees beforehand to leave out one-third of his work to be translated. Even if this unfair condition is left out of the contract, books still can be finally published in mutilated form. Of course, more such problems in the area of cultural exchange between socialist and capitalist countries could be cited. Therefore, my opinion is that even if we are given highly significant ideological and political tasks in carrying out the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, we cannot permit the traditional legal tasks and methods of the organs which protect copyrights to be overshadowed. Our results thus far prove that these, even by themselves, helped and are helping realize the Helsinki goals in cultural relations, finished Dr Istvan Timar.

8584

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

PILOT TRAINING—At the Civil Pilot Training School in Ulyanovsk, Soviet Union, 16 MALEV pilots who are being retrained to fly different model aircraft have successfully completed the theoretical preparations and the required training exercises (trenazsgyakorlat). On 13 April 10 pilots began aerotechnical instructions on the TU-134, and 6 pilots on the IL-18. Due to repair work in progress on the Ulyanovsk runways, part of the exercises are being carried out at Aktyubinsk. [Text] [Budapest REPULES, URREPULES in Hungarian No 7, Jul 77 p 4]

ROMANIA

REPORT ON U.S. CONFERENCES HONORING ROMANIAN INDEPENDENCE

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 7 Jul 77 p 24

[Report by Zoe Dumitrescu-Busulenga]

[Text] Today, when the world is changing from its foundations, preparing the dawn of a future humanity, free, brotherly, and living in complete peace and collaboration, it is natural for nations to desire and initiate revealing contacts, leading to profound mutual knowledge of one another. This explains the enormous flow of cultural resources in recent years throughout the world: Chinese, Egyptian, and Islamic art exhibits in Paris, European Renaissance works in Tokyo, European music and dance festival in Bucharest, and so on. A veritable osmosis is thus occurring in the knowledge of men everywhere, preparing them for a future history which will be calmer and more generous than the past one. Socialist Romania participates in this unfolding process through the spirit of its policy for promoting collaboration and peace throughout the world, and for respect and appreciation of the treasures of thought and creativity of any nation.

This is the sense and the area of concern of one of the many cultural exchanges undertaken during last year, the year of the celebration of our independence. Following last year's celebration in Romania of the USA Bicentennial, 1977 offered some American universities the opportunity to meet and discuss among specialists, several aspects of Romanian history, language, and literature associated with the Centennial of our independence. It was thus that a Romanian delegation composed of academy members C. C. Giurescu, Stefan Pascu, and Emil Condurachi, professor Zoe Dumitrescu-Busulenga, general Ilie Ceausescu, and doctors Virgil Cindea and Aurel Ghibutiu, visited six United States universities in a long tour from the Atlantic to the Pacific, conducting fertile dialogues with all those interested in the "Romanian phenomenon" and is many aspects. The interested parties were rather numerous, considering the number of places visited, namely, Columbia University, the State University of New York, Columbus University (Ohio), Portland University (Oregon), Wayne University in Detroit, and Seattle University (Washington).

We enjoyed once more the curiosity which we knew the American public and specialists to have about Romanian history and culture, about the originality of our manner of living and creating, and about all the things which form a strong and marked specificity in the world association of nations. A long history of relationships demonstrates this extended interest which has been greatly intensified in our times, and which is now nuanced and diversified. A glimpse in the range of these nuances can be obtained by looking at the program which formed the central part of the meeting of the Romanian delegation with American specialists, and which was held in Columbus, Ohio.

That is where a four-day symposium-conference was held on southeast Europe, with special reference to the Centennial of the Romanian Independence. One whole day was devoted to papers and discussions on several main topics in our history, from the nature of the Romanian state, including aspects of unity and continuity, to a comparative analysis of the autonomy of the three largest Romanian provinces of the past, and up to the political and military strategy of war for independence. A special session was given to the monument of Adamclisi and its meaning. The Romanian historians in the delegation and the American historians exchanged very interesting opinions which shed light from various perspectives on the topics under discussion, outlining them more sharply against the background of our national history and that of modern European history. Papers were presented and discussions were held by such such known American personalities as E. Garrison Walters, assistant dean of Ohio State University, Radu Florescu of Boston College, Stephen A. Fischer-Galati of the University of Colorado, Frederick Kellogg of the University of Arizona, Walter M. Bacon, Jr. of the University of Nebraska, Omaha, Paul E. Michelson of Huntington College, Kemal H. Karpat of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Demetrius Dvoichenke-Markov of Monmouth College, and others. At the dinner which closed the Romanian Day, the lieutenant governor of the state of Ohio, Richard F. Celeste, handed each member of the Romanian delegation a diploma-document as a reminder of the circumstances of the meeting, warmly describing our country's role in the world, and the values which it represents now and will represent in the future. Mr Celeste also considered the scientific event of Columbus, Ohio as an excellent occasion for a positive contribution to "the climate of international understanding."

A welcoming address was delivered by Dr Arthur Adams, dean of the College of Humanistic Studies at the university, and Prof R. V. Burks of Wayne University, heading the American delegation, specialist in the War of 1877–78, provided a presentation of the scientific importance of the symposium.

A well organized show of Romanian dances and songs, given by American students led by Rodica and George Botoman, successfully added the necessary atmosphere.

During the study session on southeast Europe, Romania once more played a central role, the topics covering not only history, but also sociology, folklore, language, literature, and art, for the nations of southeast Europe and their characteristics. Together with us, other American specialists

concerned themselves with the various stages in the evolution of Romanian society (Prof Irwin Sanders of Boston University, Prof Albert Bates Lord of Harvard, and Prof Ladis Kristof of Portland State University), and with the Romanian language and its aspects (this session was chaired by the distinguished linguist, Prof Augustin Maissen of the University of North Carolina). For literature and the arts, the theoretical discussions were completed with sessions dedicated to Romanian artists. The poetry of Tudor Arghezi sang in the reading given by Mitzurei Arghezi and his American translator, Prof Michael Impey of the University of Kentucky. Brancusi was discussed by, among others, the well-known specialist Florence Hetzler of Fordham University, whose talk, illustrated by films and slides, had the freshness and warmth of a deep intuition. In Detroit, at Wayne University, where we were the quests of professors William Brazil and Richard Burks of the Department of History, we found the same openness, the same questions about the Romania of the past and of today, and the same desire to strengthen the collaboration among universities and academic forums; these sentiments were also expressed in the words of the vice-president of the university following the opening of the Romanian Book Exposition organized by the Romanian Embassy in the United States, with the assistance of Mr Vern Pings, director of the university library.

The University of Portland, Oregon, that town of rhododendrons and camelias, beautifully located near the Pacific coast, provided another organization of the meetings devoted to the Centennial of our independence. With the participation of professors and students, one meeting took place at the university, and discussed historical questions. But the other was held in a less usual setting, which nevertheless was well suited to the cultural topics at hand; this was Maryhill Museum, with its picturesque location on the banks of the Columbia River. In addition to a rare collection of Rodin sculptures, the museum has a moving collection of Romanian folk art, from a time when it maintained strong relations with Romania. There, among peasant skirts, carpets, peasant coats, old embroidered blouses, forks, and pottery, we spoke of Romanian culture from long ago and of today, to a very large and very diversified public, full of interest in what it was hearing and seeing, desirous of finding out more about that small country in the southeast of Europe, so far from America's West Coast and yet so attractive through the sober beauty of its art, and through its reputation of wisdom and sensibility throughout its tumultuous history.

Wherever we went (and we met young people, as at the seminar of Prof Landis Cristof, and older people), we were met only with friendship and a desire for collaboration on the part of the American people. For the American people, the celebration of the Romanian Centennial of its independence is as symbolic for the history of a small country, extended and strongly known internationally, as the celebration of its own Bicentennial.

11,023 CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

MINISTRY OFFICIAL ON NEW REHABILITATION MEASURES

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian No 24, 16 Jun 77 p 6

 $\overline{\text{Interview}}$ with Romul Opre, director in the Ministry of Justice, by N. Grigore Marasanu $\overline{\text{Marasanu}}$

/Text/ /Question/ Comrade Romul Opre, you are the director of the Directorate of Civil Courts, Notaries, Lawyers and Jurists in the Ministry of Justice. First will you please discuss the new social conditions under which the Political Executive Committee's decision was adopted concerning the role of the socialist units, the public organizations and the masses in observance of laws and sanctioning and occupational rehabilitation of violators of the standards of social coexistence and the laws of the land?

Answer/ The Decision of the Political Executive Committee of 24 May 1977 was adopted during radical revolutionary changes in all fields of socioeconomic and cultural experience. It is, if you will, the result of the quantitative and qualitative progress made on the cultural front in the light of further knowledge of socialist democracy and the changes that have been made in people's consciousness by the extensive indoctrinational effort exerted to carry out the party's ideological program. Its adoption is a graphic illustration of the party's creativeness as well as a noteworthy contribution of Nicolae Ceausescu's to the development of new legal principles and the improvement of socialist legislation and legal relations in keeping with the present stage of national socioeconomic development.

The progress made in socialist construction and the experience gained in combatting violations of the standards of social coexistence called for revision of the entire judicial system and sanctioning of certain violators. The decision of 24 May 1977 accordingly establishes new principles for intensified indoctrination to prevent and combat violations of the standards of social coexistence committed by minors and youths between 18 and 21. The decision also determines the role of the party, trade union, womens's, youth's and other public organizations in intensifying the political indoctrination of all workers, and especially young ones, in order to further improve the masses' socialist awareness and to prevent violations of the laws or the standards of civil conduct.

/Question/ We have observed the continuing legal practice of assigning some functions of justice to the social collectives. What is the significance of this development?

Answer It is a particularly important development in our party's and state's policy and a profoundly humanistic interpretation of the law. The recommended measures are in keeping with the party's whole effort to enlist the masses and the labor collectives in the direct management of the entire process of building our fully developed socialist society. In the last few years, in pursuance of the directives of the party and Nicolae Ceausescu himself, we have begun to apply some new forms of rehabilitation and social integration of violators of certain laws. The institution of corrective labor was introduced in the penal code for the first time in 1973. When the courts considered that the purpose of the punishment could be served without loss of freedom, they could order the convict to perform corrective labor at worksites, in agricultural or forestry units, or in other socialist organizations. Our society now has enough public influence to permit rehabilitation of violators who present no great social danger through labor in production units under the supervision and on the responsibility of the collectives in these units.

/Question/ In this connection, what will be the role and importance of the trial commissions as competent organs?

/Answer/ They will undoubtedly make a much greater contribution to the workers' further responsibility for enforcement of the principles of social ethics and justice as well as the legal provisions to protect and develop socialist property and to enforce order and discipline in production and social activity. To this end, it is one of the considerable tasks of the Association of Lawyers in the Socialist Republic of Romania to make an extensive effort to support the trial commissions. Under the supervision of the party organs and organizations, all lawyers are expected to intensify their efforts to guide the 16,000 and more trial commissions and thereby enhance the preventive-educational effect of the public opinion organs. A great contribution to this will also be made by the jurists, whose legal and moral obligation it is to support all public bodies functioning within the socialist units.

/Question/ How will the Ministry of Justice conduct legal propaganda in the future?

/Answer/ Besides stimulation of socioeconomic progress, construction of our fully developed socialist society also requires constant improvement of all social activity and human relations as well as conversion of the citizens' thinking and way of life to the spirit of socialist ideology, ethics and justice. To this end it is important to improve our efforts to implement justice, to base legislation on all social activity, to protect the basic values of socialism, to indoctrinate the masses in a law abiding spirit of respect for the rules of social coexistence, and to promote the relations characteristic of socialist society. Legal propaganda should not be an isolated aim apart from general mass indoctrination but must be integrated with all the efforts toward uniform implementation, under the leadership of the party organs and organizations, of the tasks flowing from the decisions of the llth Party Congress and the Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture, on the subject of ideological, political and indoctrinational work.

To improve the content and enhance the effectiveness of legal propaganda in the light of the Decision of the Political Executive Committee, we shall try to

orient this activity primarily in the directions where we find such efforts are required. The need of directing this activity is indicated by analyses of local violations and conferences with the administrative personnel of the socialist units. The organs of justice will make a continuing effort to determine the causes leading to violations of the law. Purposeful steps will be taken to prevent antisocial acts by suitable ways and means, and intensified efforts will be made to publicize the laws that will be enforced chiefly by the councils of political education and socialist culture in units and communes, for purposes of further diversification of the forms and methods of legal propaganda with emphasis on those that have proved effective, such as dialog with workers, legal consultations, the conversations with the managers of the socialist units, etc.

Question What do you think will be the role of public opinion in combatting and condemning antisocial acts?

Answer In the present stage public opinion, as a specific manifestation of the collective socialist consciousness, is a great and effective force for the defense of social values, observance of the rules of socialist coexistence, and the communist indoctrination of the citizens. It is a force for the formation and development of the new traits of men's behavior and for men's rise to the level of understanding the need of protecting the basic interests of socialist society and harmoniously combining personal with public interests. In the last few years regulatory acts have been passed on development of the role of public opinion in combatting antisocial acts and observing the standards of socialist ethics and justice and of legality. The importance of the public organs has considerably increased. You can observe, for example, the contributions of the trial commissions, the citizens' committees, the parents' committees, and the public control teams. And we all know that the documents of the 11th Party Congress on the need of further improvement in the administration of justice stress the obligation of the organs of justice to depend more and more upon the working masses and the important part played in our society by public opinion in combatting violations of the socialist order and the principles and standards of social coexistence. If public opinion is to perform its social tasks effectively, the jurists must lend it a highly aggressive character to prevent antisocial acts.

Question What are the particular tasks of the organs of justice in carrying out the provisions of the Decision of the Political Executive Committee?

Answer/ We must show better results in law enforcement and in combatting negative manifestations and violations of the standards of social coexistence. The state organs must depend upon the masses and constantly appeal to them. In referring to the tasks of the judicial organs at the Assembly of Party Activists and Administrative Personnel in the Ministry of the Interior, Nicolae Ceausescu said, "More attention must be paid to organizing the workers' assemblies and the district, commune and village citizens' assemblies for public discussion of antisocial manifestations. Everything that happens in an enterprise, institution, community or district concerns all the citizens. All antisocial acts and all violations impair the interests of all citizens. Therefore the workers and all citizens must be mobilized to eliminate them, seeing to it themselves that such manifestations cease." This applies to the new tasks of the organs of justice. The decision assigns the organs of justice and the prosecutor's office the task

of widely publicizing and explaining the content of the nation's laws and making a greater contribution to all citizens' knowledge and strict observance of them and to the prevention of any violations of the standards of social coexistence. The citizens' sound knowledge of the laws is one of the critical means of consolidating legality and establishing a climate of order and discipline vital to the performance of the great tasks the party has assigned the members of our society. It is the task of the organs of justice to see that the laws of the land are known and strictly observed by the citizens, and to apply them in their spirit and letter.

If the workers are informed as to the causes of legal violations they can take purposeful action to eliminate them. Therefore it is a duty of the organs of justice to notify the workers' collectives of court decisions, so that they will know both the law and the circumstances that have led to its violation. Participation of judges in the general assemblies of the workers' collectives, where the laws are explained, data are presented as to the state of legality in the respective units, and the causes leading to the violations are stated, is another important task of the organs of justice whereby they help to raise the workers' level of awareness, to mobilize them for law enforcement, and to prevent antisocial acts. I think you should also realize that the application of these measures does not mean laxity in the case of acts that impair the basic values of our social and state order, such as treason, espionage, murder, robbery, theft and damage entailing major losses to public property, and other crimes with a high degree of social danger.

Question Comrade Romul Opre, we think the application of the new measures also requires some legislative changes. What do you think they will be?

Answer? Changes must be made in the penal code, the code of criminal procedure, the Law on Judicial Organization, the Law on the Trial Commissions and other regulatory acts. The new criminal legislation will have to reflect our party's profoundly humanistic conception that violators of the law are mainly rehabilitated not by loss of freedom but by work in the socialist units, with the help and under the supervision of the labor collectives. The law will have to express the greater role of propaganda and the importance of public opinion in combatting violations of the rules of social coexistence, as well as the responsibility of the collectives in units and the mass organizations for the reform of the violators.

Question Comrade director, in the light of the new regulations I think more and more people with different educations will be placed in the position of applying the law, and if they are to apply it in its spirit, they must understand its true spirit. How will the texts of the new regulatory acts be formulated?

/Answer/ The legislative changes must be clearly expressed in language intelligible to all citizens, so that they can be readily applied and thoroughly understood by all those expected to observe them. All jurists, both practitioners and theorists of law, are called upon to help with this task. I also think the entire activity of the judicial organs must be guided by the principles and directives set forth in the Decision of the Political Executive Committee of the Party Central Committee.

FIGURES CITED ON YOUTH FEDERATION, LCY MEMBERSHIP

Belgrade MLADOST in Serbo-Croatian 25 May 77 p 9

[Article]

[Text] Of the 5.5 million young Yugoslavs aged 14 to 27, 3,223,652 are members of the Federation of Socialist Youth.

The number of members by republics and autonomous provinces is as follows:

| Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina | 783,680 |
|---|---------|
| Socialist Republic of Montenegro | 101,215 |
| Socialist Republic of Croatia | 685,232 |
| Socialist Republic of Macedonia | 230,000 |
| Socialist Republic of Slovenia | 315,000 |
| Socialist Republic of Serbia (without autonomous provinces) | 604,688 |
| Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo | 250,735 |
| Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina | 253,102 |

Girls and boys in secondary schools comprise the largest contingent in the youth organization with 1.2 million members. The membership also includes 925,000 workers, 540,000 farmers, and approximately 240,000 university-level students.

Members of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia are organized in 35,000 basic organizations and nearly 20,000 activist entities. The largest single number of basic organizations (15,000) may be found in basic organizations of associated labor.

The membership of the LCY currently includes 370,000 young men and young women up to the age of 27.

The number of young LCY members by republics and autonomous provinces is as follows:

| Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina | 65,044 |
|--|---------|
| Socialist Republic of Montenegro | 13,440 |
| Socialist Republic of Croatia | 53,449 |
| Socialist Republic of Macedonia | 16,191 |
| Socialist Republic of Slovenia | 21,926 |
| Socialist Republic of Serbia | 168,434 |
| Serbia proper (without autonomous provinces) | 104,830 |
| Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo | 19,399 |
| Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina | 44,205 |
| Yugoslav People's Army | 31,860 |
| Federation | 1,076 |

Obviously, the LCY has been considerably rejuvenated in recent years. Of the total number of members, 28.5 percent are young persons. However, youth is still inadequately represented in LCY organs. For example, 41 young persons have been elected to central and province-level committees (6.2 percent), while three members aged 27 years or younger are on the Central Committee of the LCY.

YUGOSLAVIA

KOLISEVSKI HOLDS TALKS WITH ECUADOREAN MINISTERS IN QUITO

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jul 77 p 1 AU

[TANJUG report]

[Text] Quito, 2 Jul--The Yugoslav delegation led by Lazar Kolisevski, member of the presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, yesterday had political talks with highly prominent Ecuadorean representatives led by Jose Ayala Lasso, minister of foreign affairs.

A similarity of views on many problems and the mutual readiness to expand cooperation in all fields were the main characteristics of these talks, which dealt with all current international questions and bilateral relations.

"Yugoslavia and Ecuador are linked with each other as two independent, nonalined countries," the head of the Ecuadorean delegation said in the talk. He expressed his belief that the visit of Lazar Kolisevski will contribute to an expansion of mutual cooperation and its structural enrichment. In view of the fact that Yugoslavia is technically a more developed country, Minister Ayala said, Ecuador is particularly interested in promotion of scientific-technical cooperation.

During the exchange of views on international topics, Ayala said that Ecuador, although it is not a full member of the nonalined movement (it attends the nonalined meetings as observer), in its day-to-day policy it holds views which completely accord with the policy and efforts of the nonalined movement.

Among other things, the efforts to establish a new economic system, problems of disarmament and other problems were discussed in the talks.

Galo Montano, minister of industries, and Gen Eduardo Semblantes, minister of national resources, also participated in the talks on the Ecuadorean side, while on the Yugoslav side Radovan Pantovic, member of the Federal Executive Council, and Luka Radojcic, vice president of the Federal Committee for Economic Cooperation with the developing countries, participated.

POPULATION INCREASE IN KOSOVO TO 1972 SURVEYED

Belgrade SOCIOLOGIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 1, Jan-Mar 77 pp 153-173

[Excerpt of article by Hivzi Islami, Department of Natural Sciences and Mathematics of Pristina University]

[Excerpt] One of the principal characteristics of Kosovo's population is its very strong overall growth. By contrast with the other regions of Yugoslavial and many parts of the world in which what is called the process of the demographic revolution is completed or near its end, it is only beginning in Kosovo. That is, in the sixties it began the process of this "boom," which is quite strong in both absolute and relative terms. The principal reason does not lie in migrational movements, since immigration is less than emigration, but in revolutionary social welfare, medical and other undertakings, just as in similar economically underdeveloped regions of the world, which with a slight drop in the birth rate, since this is a long-term phenomenon, have reduced the death rate and particularly the infant mortality rate relatively rapidly. The resultant of these processes is a very high natural population growth, which over the last 15 years has shown an annual average of about 29 pro mille, which is exceptional even in a worldwide comparison.

The population of Kosovo has grown 183 percent over the last 50 years, while that of Yugoslavia has grown 63 percent. It has increased even more than the population of Albania, which holds first place in Europe with respect to population growth; Albania's population has grown 166 percent in about five decades; in just the period between 1948 and 1971 the population of Kosovo grew 70 percent, and it grew about 30 percent between 1961 and 1971. The large number of predominantly Albanian rural settlements have even a higher growth than the average for the province.

This rapid population growth has brought about an increase in total population density from 67 inhabitants per square kilometer in 1948 to 114 in 1971. Because of the socioeconomic underdevelopment, and especially the lack of industrial development, there has been a steady absolute growth in the farm population because natural growth has been greater than the transfer to nonfarm activities. This led to accumulation of a mass of unemployed

or underemployed manpower in the agricultural sector. In spite of the increase of arable land (plowland and gardens, orchards and vineyards) the farm population density dropped slightly from 211 inhabitants per square kilometer (100 hectares) in 1948 to 198 in 1971. In many farming areas of Kosovo this density is higher than 300 inhabitants per square kilometer.

Table 1. Population of Kosovo, Yugoslavia² and Albania³ Over the Last Five Decades

| יע | ecades | | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| | | Population in | Thousands | Index | | |
| Year | | Yugoslavia | Kosovo | Yugoslavia | Kosovo | |
| 1921 1931 1948 1953 | | 12,621 14,586 15,901 17,048 | 440 555 733 813 | 100.0 115.6 126.0 135.1 | 100.0 126.1 166.6 184.6 | |
| 1961 1971 | | 18,607 20,523 | 971 1,244 | 147.4 163.5 Albania | 220.7 283.5 | |
| | | | Population | in Thousands | Index | |
| 1923 1938 | | |] | 803 1 , 040 | 100.0 129.3 | |
| 1945 1950 | | |]] | .,122 .,218 | 139.5 151.5 | |
| 1960 1970 | | | | 1,626 2,135 | 202.2 264.8 | |

Growth of the Rates of Vital Population Processes

The rates of Kosovo's natural population growth (birth rate, death rate and natural growth), which are exceptionally high today, have risen with very pronounced leaps. These fluctuations and the unfavorable character of the development of the vital statistics are a consequence of events in social history, a very unfavorable economic structure and social composition (subsistent and extensive farming), migration processes, a general lack of education, a bad situation from the standpoint of social welfare and public health, a high incidence of disease, a varying percentage of the population in the reproductive years, shortcomings in the keeping of vital statistics, and so on (Figure 1).

In view of this region's social, economic and cultural underdevelopment, we should expect still higher birth rates than there were up until World War II. However, complete and maximum physiological fertility was achieved, but the exceptionally high death rate, in some years at an annual average of about 40 per 1,000, did not allow the entire population capable of reproduction to survive the entire fertile period of life; average length of life before the war was less than 40. These unfavorable processes brought about uneconomical and inhumane reproduction of the population, since a very low natural growth was achieved with such a high birth rate. This is a characteristic

of all preindustrial populations. Although there are no statistics for the period before 1911, on the basis of the character of the trend in the rates of natural population growth up to World War II and later, we can conclude that demographic development was still less favorable then. The main thing confronting the Kosovo population was how to survive, how to keep a certain number of children alive. The principal way of achieving this at least partially was to have as many children as possible.

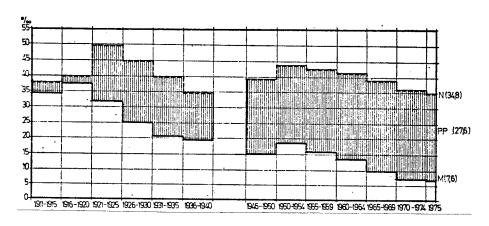


Figure 1. Average annual rates of natural population growth in Kosovo over certain periods between 1911 and 1975.

Table 2. Natural Population Growth of Certain Countries and of Certain Regions of Yugoslavia Before the War⁴

| | 1951-1955 | 1956-1960 | 1961-1964 | <u> 1965–1970</u> | 1971-1974 | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| | Birth Rate | | | | | | | | | |
| Sweden Yugoslavia Mexico Albania Kosovo Croatia Slovenia Vojvodina | 15.2 28.1 44.9 39.5 42.6 32.2 22.8 22.3 | 14.2 24.1 45.9 41.0 42.6 20.8 19.4 18.4 | 15.0 21.7 45.5 38.5 40.9 17.2 18.0 16.2 | 16.1 19.1 43.2 34.9 38.5 15.0 17.2 13.3 | 17.9 36.0 14.5 17.1 | | | | | |
| | D | eath Rate | | | | | | | | |
| Sweden Yugoslavia Mexico Albania Kosovo Croatia Slovenia Vojvodina | 9.7 12.1 15.4 14.4 18.6 11.7 10.9 12.4 | 9.7 10.2 12.5 10.4 14.9 10.1 8.7 10.3 | 10.0 9.3 10.7 9.5 12.8 9.7 9.6 9.7 | 10.3 8.4 8.9 8.0 9.2 9.7 10.3 9.9 | 8.4 7.8 10.3 10.4 | | | | | |

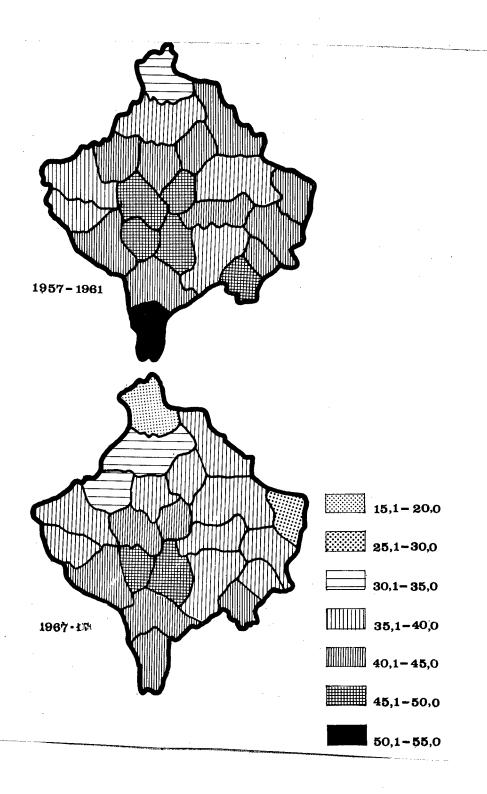


Figure 2. Birth rate.

Table 2 (continued)

| to the second second second | 1951-1955 | 1956-1960 | 1961-1964 | 1965-1970 | 1971-1974 |
|-----------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | Natural | Population | Growth | | |
| Sweden | 5.5 | 4.5 | 5.0 | 5.8 | |
| Yugoslavia | 16.0 | 13.9 | 12.4 | 10.7 | 9.5 |
| Mexico | 29.5 | 33.4 | 34.8 | 34.3 | |
| Albania | 25.4 | 30.6 | 29.0 | 26.9 | - |
| Kosovo | 24.0 | 27.7 | 28.1 | 29.3 | 28.2 |
| Croatia | 10.5 | 10.7 | 7.5 | 6.2 | 4.2 |
| Slovenia | 11.9 | 10.7 | 8.4 | 6.9 | 6.8 |
| Vojvodina | 10.9 | 8.1 | 6.5 | 3.4 | 2.6 |

With the general transformation that has taken place since the war, the natural population dynamics of Kosovo has been changing for the better in that the birth rate and death rate have been on the decline. We should particularly mention the decline of the total and infant mortality rates, which reflects the spread of medicine and public health. However, the birth rate and infant mortality rate have still been the highest in Yugoslavia and in Europe and among the highest in the world. Vojvodina had the birth rate which Kosovo now has in about 1900. The present infant mortality rate in Kosovo is about 80 per 1,000, while it is about 20 per 1,000 in Slovenia and about 45 per 1,000 in Yugoslavia. Infant mortality in Kosovo is mainly a reflection of exogenic factors, while in Slovenia and other advanced areas it is more a consequence of endogenic factors.

When we look at the regional pattern of Kosovo's natural population growth, we note great differences; in the case of the birth rate by opstinas they range from 10 to 15 or more per 1,000 in some periods (Figure 2). At this point we should make an exception of Leposavic Opstina in the northernmost part of the province, which represents a special social and ethnic area (population more than 90 percent Serb). Opstinas with an exceptionally high birth rate (and in the past a high total death rate as well) and infant mortality rate and an extremely high rate of natural population growth are mainly inhabited by the Albanian population. In some years the purely Albanian opstinas have had a birth rate exceeding 40 per 1,000 (1972) and a rate of natural population growth higher than 35 per 1,000. Although the total mortality rate has dropped quite a bit (Figure 3), the infant mortality rate is very high and represents a special social problem for the province. This death rate is one of the factors which is still holding up the very high birth rate of the Kosovo or Albanian population. In some opstinas infant mortality in some years has even reached the level of 200 pro mille, which is an exception even in a worldwide survey. It has been dropping relatively rapidly because of medical and other social welfare programs. Its level and decline vary from one ethnic community to another, from one social stratum to another, and from opstina to opstina (Figure 4). Because of the high birth rate and its slow rate of decline, accompanied by the drop in the total death rate, the rate of natural population growth is exceptionally high

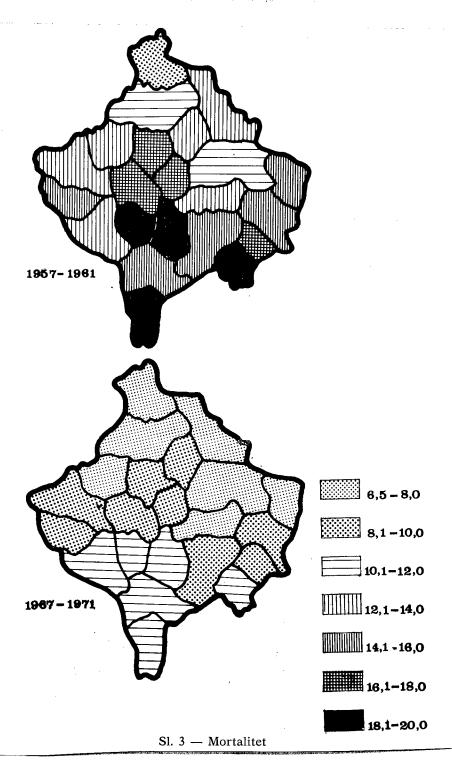


Figure 3. Death rate.

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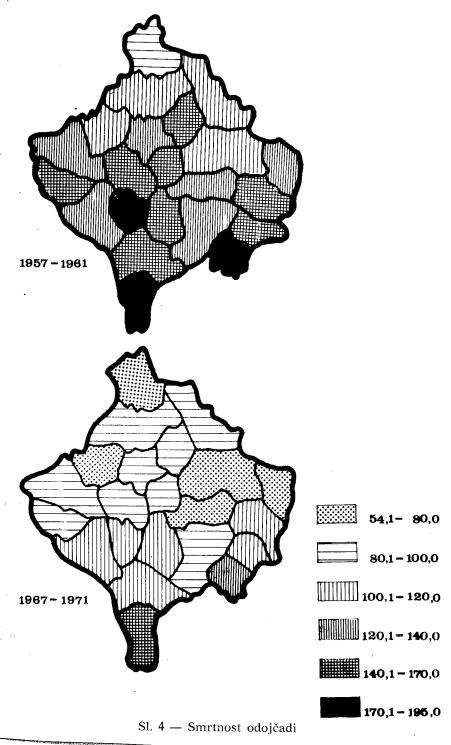


Figure 4. Infant mortality rate.

STANOVNIŠTVO KOSOVA

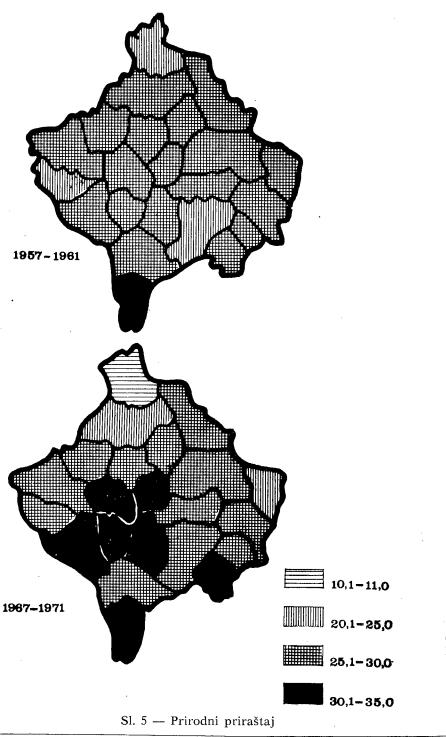


Figure 5. Natural population growth.

in Kosovo, especially in certain parts (Figure 5). This kind of expansive natural growth was to be expected because of the general revolution in public health and social welfare and cultural development which seized the province in the early sixties. This kind of growth will persist for some time yet because death rates are still high in many parts of the province, and they are expected to drop, and the emigration of the most fertile portion of the population is quite negligible.

Within Kosovo the differences are particularly great between the nationalities, that is, among the Albanian, Serbs and Montenegrins. The birth rate of Albanians has not varied very much since the war: in 1953 it was 45.9 pro mille and in 1971 it was 42.3; the birth rate of the Serbs dropped considerably from 41.2 to 22.4, and that of the Montenegrins dropped from 37.9 to 19.6 pro mille. Whereas the death rate has shown the greatest drop for the Albanians: from 25.1 in 1953 to 8.7 pro mille in 1971, it was about 7 pro mille in 1971 for the Serbs and Montenegrins, while previously it was about 13 pro mille.⁵ It is the high and unchanged level of the birth rate of the Albanians and the high drop in the mortality rate which today account for the extremely high rates of natural population growth and their steady rise since the war: from 20.8 pro mille in 1953 to 33.6 pro mille in 1971; for the Serbs and Montenegrins they range under 15 pro mille. For that reason about 95 percent of Kosovo's total population growth between 1961 and 1971 consisted of Albanians.

As a reflection of the changes that have occurred in the economic, social welfare, cultural and health fields since the war, and especially measures to combat exogenous disease, and then the improvement of hygiene and housing conditions, and so on, there has also been an increase in the average length of life of Kosovo's population. Immediately after the war the average length of life was about 45 years, while today it ranges around 65 years. Up until 1965 women died earlier than men. In Yugoslavia as a whole average length of life is today about 68 years, while in Slovenia, Croatia, etc., it is about 70.

Age and Sex Distribution

The age and sex distribution of the Kosovo population are among the particular features of this region's demographic composition giving rise to other quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the population. As for sex distribution, Kosovo is well known as a region with a predominance of males. This is another peculiarity of the Albanian population. The sex ratio of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, for example, was 109.3 in 1971, and that of the Turks 106.2, while it was 95 for Slovenians, 97 for Serbs, 92 for Croats, and so on. The surplus of males over females in 1971 was 48,047 for Albanians in Yugoslavia and 36,078 in Kosovo.

The reasons for this kind of imbalance lie mainly in the underdeveloped social environment and the traditional views. Because the Albanians feel a great love for male children, they care for them with a great deal of attention, while less attention is always paid to newborn infants of the female

sex, so that more of them die, frequently even those who are physiologically healthy. This value put on male children goes back to the remote past, and this tradition has persisted until this day; this is indeed shown by the folk songs which the people sing today. Since the region where the Albanians live today is primarily a farming region, the male has always been looked on and is now looked on as potential manpower for the future, since from his earliest years the male child is involved in the extensive and self-sufficient farming operation. Another reason for the surplus of males is the high number of deaths of women in childbearing years, since, as we have seen, the fertility rate and birth rate are very high. For example, the sex ratio was 112.5 in the age group between 30 and 34 years of age and 111.1 in the age group between 45 and 49. A third reason for the predominance of males is also related to the inadequate attention paid female children; that is, the parents very frequently do not register newborn female infants.

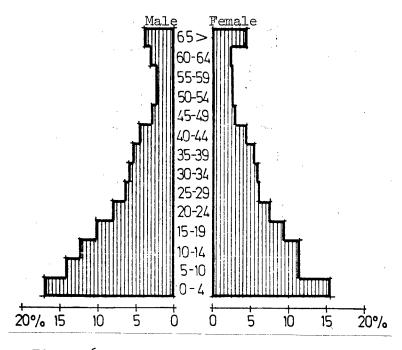


Figure 6. Age pyramid of Kosovo in 1971.

In its age distribution Kosovo's population ranks among the very young populations. It belongs to the type of progressive or expansive age distribution (Figure 6), by contrast with other regions of Yugoslavia, which have an altogether different type of age pyramid, Vojvodina serving as an example (Figure 7). The age pyramid of Kosovo's population is still expanding its base in the age group between 0 and 4, which is a very important indicator of a high birth rate. Kosovo is the only region in Yugoslavia whose population has an average age of less than 24 years; Vojvodina, Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia have an age of about 34, and Yugoslavia as a whole has an average age of about 31. The share of young people, under age 19, was 53 percent in Kosovo in 1971, while 43 percent of the total area of the province has more

than 55 percent of that population group. There are even areas within Kosovo where young people represent more than 60 percent of the total population, which is undoubtedly a unique phenomenon in world demography. In Yugoslavia as a whole the share of young people is about 36 percent, while in Vojvodina, for example, it is only about 30 percent. Vojvodina is coming close to the regressive type of age distribution, which shows signs of depopulation as a consequence of very low natural population growth and—in many parts of that province, a decline of population. This is very unfavorable in the mixed stage of demographic and socioeconomic development.

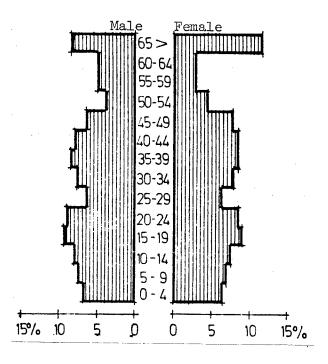


Figure 7. Age pyramid of Vojvodina in 1971.

Kosovo's very high share of young people is related to the high birth rate and natural population growth in the population of Albanian nationality, which more and more are counteracting the aging process of this region's population. In Yugoslavia as a whole young people constituted about 54 percent of Albanians in 1971, while the share in Albanians in Kosovo was about 56 percent; the share of the elderly (age 60 or more) was only 6.5 percent. Even with the Serbs in Kosovo the share of young people is considerably higher than for Serbs in other regions, but considerably lower than for the Albanians; it was about 45 percent (see Figures 8 and 9). The very young age distribution of Kosovo's population is having manifold results in social, economic, educational and health development, and, of course, in demographic development. That is why all future development policies must take into account the age distribution of this region's population.

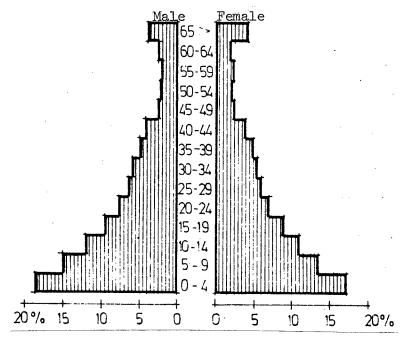


Figure 8. Age pyramid of Albanians in Kosovo in 1971.

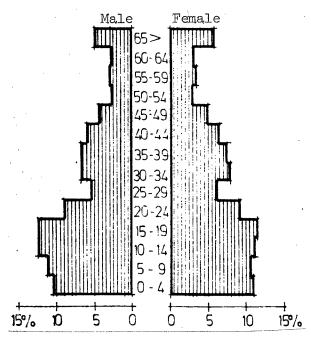


Figure 9. Age pyramid of Serbs in Kosovo in 1971.

Economic Makeup of the Population

Before the war Kosovo was one of the most underdeveloped regions of Yugoslavia in both its economic and overall development, and the share of its farm

population was about 90 percent. Even after the war, right up until the sixties, the classical homogeneous autarkic agrarian pattern with about 70 percent of the labor force in the primary sector. A considerable portion of the province's area has that pattern even today. This pattern has been reflected, and is today reflected, not only in the slower change of economic and social characteristics of the population, but also in the biological and intellectual characteristics of the population and other population features (high birth rate and death rate, illiteracy exceeding 60 percent after the war and about 30 percent today, traditional family structure, etc.). Nonfarm activities were developed very little and were mainly concentrated in the few urban and urbanized settlements and in certain clusters developed by the mining industry and opstina seats. The lack of industrialization and of other activities had a particular impact on the growth of unemployment of the considerable potential manpower, and especially on unemployment and underemployment in agriculture, which is why there is a steady absolute growth in the size of the farm population, which has been augmenting the pressure for farmland and plowland, and then on the inadequate urbanization (the urban population had a share of about 15 percent in 1953 and about 26 percent in 1971), and on the low spatial and social mobility of the population, and so on.

Table 3. Trend of Kosovo's Farm Population Between 1948 and 19716

| Year of Census | Size of Farm Population | Share of Farm Population in Total Population | Absolute Growth of Farm Population |
|-------------------|----------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| 1948 | 581,000 | _{\$} 79.8 | |
| 1953 | 591,000 | 72.3 | 10,000 |
| 1961 | 618,381 | 64.1 | 27,381 |
| 1971 | 640,629 | 51.5 | 22,248 |

However, since the beginning of the sixties the province's economic development, with the emphasis on industrialization, has begun to record an upsurge. In 1971 the distribution of the labor force showed a sudden change to the detriment of the primary sector, which in 10 years dropped 18 percent, while other sectors showed a pronounced growth tendency, especially the secondary sector. This considerably disrupted the homogeneity of the province's social and economic makeup, and the share of the farm population has dropped to about 50 percent. It is particularly important that there has been an increase in the number of cities and mixed settlements and in the number of functions within them, the population has become more horizontally and vertically mobile, etc.

In spite of the changes that have been noted in the economic makeup of the population, the pattern is still underdeveloped not only because the primary sector is dominant, but also because the quaternary or nonproductive sector is more highly developed than the productive tertiary sector. This is partly the result of the fact that in recent years Kosovo has taken over a number of political and administrative competencies and social, administrative, health and cultural functions. Pristina stands out particularly

in this regard as a center with wide provincial importance. Not only does Kosovo have the most unfavorable pattern in the economic composition of the population (I-II-IV-III), but it is the only region in Yugoslavia which has shown no change at all in that type, while in Slovenia there have been substantial changes both in the type of pattern and also in the individual sectors. Kosovo is also the only region in Yugoslavia which in census after census has recorded a steady absolute growth in the farm population, which is a consequence of the slow economic development we have mentioned, especially of industry and public service activities, and of the high natural growth of this population. The size of natural population growth is still larger than the transfer of the farm population to nonfarm activities. That is why there is a very pronounced agrarian overpopulation and an exodus of manpower abroad to find temporary work at the end of the sixties and in the early seventies.

Table 4. Economic Makeup of the Labor Force of Yugoslavia, Slovenia and Kosovo With Respect to Sectors of Employment in 1961 and 1971 and Evolution of Types of Economic Pattern7

| Region and | <u>Year</u> | Ī | II | <u>III</u> | IV | Not Work- ing and Unknown | Persons Working Abroad Tempo- rarily | Type of Economic Pattern |
|------------|-------------|------|------|------------|------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Yugoslavia | 1961 | 57.0 | 17.4 | 11.2 | 9.3 | 4.6 | *** | I-II-III-IV |
| | 1971 | 44.6 | 22.1 | 14.3 | 10.3 | 1.8 | 6.6 | I-II-III-IV |
| Slovenia | 1961 | 37.9 | 29.1 | 16.6 | 12.2 | 4.2 | | I-II-III-IV |
| | 1971 | 25.4 | 36.8 | 18.8 | 12.2 | 1.1 | 5.4 | II-I-III-IV |
| Kosovo | 1961 | 70.7 | 11.5 | 5.6 | 7.2 | 5.0 | | I-II-IV-III |
| 4 | 1971 | 52.7 | 17.7 | 8.5 | 10.3 | 3.5 | 6.4 | I-II-IV-III |

We should also mention that the employment rate is also characteristic in Kosovo. The share of the labor force in the total population is not only lower, but dropped from 33 percent in 1953 to 26 percent in 1971 (the figures for Yugoslavia are 45 percent and 43 percent, respectively), while the number of dependents per 100 employed persons increased from 177 in 1961 to 251 in 1971 (the figures for Yugoslavia as a whole are 109 and 105, respectively). These levels and trends derive from the economic underdevelopment of the population, the low involvement of women in the economic and social process, the population's very young age pattern, the increase in the number of students at all levels, shortcomings in the recording of the labor force, incomparability of population census data for different years, and so on.

A considerable portion of the province still has quite an unfavorable economic makeup of the population. In 1971 15 of the 22 opstinas had a share of the farm population exceeding 50 percent, and in 7 of them the share of the population was 70 percent or more in the total population. And in all those opstinas there has been an absolute increase in the size of the farm population, and farm population density ranges higher than 200 or 250 inhabitants per square kilometer of arable land. About 600 villages still

have a share of the farm population between 80 and 100 percent, and this amounts to 45 percent of the settled area, while more than 1,100 rural settlements representing more than 80 percent of the settled area have a share of the farm population higher than 50 percent. In these settlements agricultural production is mainly subsistence and self-sufficient farming. urban settlements and opstina seats have a smaller proportion of the farm population than the average for the province; but even many opstina seats, which by the criteria of Yugoslav statistics concerning villages and mixed settlements, had a share of the farm population higher than 40 percent in 1971. This is the result of their earlier socioeconomic structure, and in part it is the consequence of a large migration of farm population from rural areas. As for the type of economic pattern of the population, more than 10 opstinas have retained the same type as the province itself, i.e., I-II-IV-III with a predominant share of primary activities. But it is very much to the better that there also has been an increase in the share of other sectors, especially the secondary and quaternary sectors. Such large differences in the economic makeup of Kosovo's population are the results of a development that has been uneven in terms of both space and time; its tendencies are still evident in the subsequent socioeconomic development of the province. That is why all efforts should be aimed at industrialization of Kosovo, primarily on the basis of its own natural resources, which it has in abundance (lead, zinc, coal, and so on), and on more uniform regional development.

The Literacy Rate of the Population

Kosovo is the region which has the highest rate of illiteracy in Yugoslavia. This is the consequence of cultural and socioeconomic backwardness and of sociopolitical subordination in the remote, recent and very recent past. These circumstances have particularly affected the Albanian population. Before the war Kosovo had a very high illiteracy rate. After the war radical steps were taken to eliminate illiteracy, and various courses were organized along those lines; these courses did not prove effective in furnishing permanent literacy. It is encouraging that illiteracy has dropped considerably in relative terms even though it is still very high and the highest in the country. However, the absolute number of illiterates has not been noted to decline: in 1961 there were 273,696, and in 1971 there were 271,755.

The fact that the absolute number of illiterates is holding firm obviously demonstrates that all young people are not receiving elementary education. Almost half of the young people between the ages of 10 and 19 in 1948 were illiterate, while by 1971 that share had dropped considerably to about 11 percent, while in Vojvodina the figures were different for that age group: 4.8 and 2.9 percent, respectively. In other age groups the illiteracy rate is, of course, even much higher: the illiteracy rate in the age group between the ages of 35 and 64 was about 57 percent, among persons over age 65 it was 87 percent, while in Vojvodina these figures were 12 percent and 23 percent, respectively.

Table 5. Illiteracy Rate in Kosovo and Vojvodina According to Population Censuses Between 1921 and 19718

| | | 1921 | 1931 | 1948 | 1953 | <u> 1961</u> | <u> 1971</u> |
|-----------|--------|------|------|------|------|--------------|--------------|
| Kosovo | Male | 94.8 | 74.5 | 46.9 | 38.0 | 29.8 | 21.3 |
| | Female | 98.5 | 93.9 | 78.4 | 72.1 | 58.4 | 43.5 |
| | Total | 95.5 | 84.2 | 62.5 | 54.8 | 43.9 | 32.0 |
| Vojvodina | Male | 20.0 | 14.2 | 7.7 | 8.3 | 6.6 | 5.3 |
| | Female | 25.5 | 23.4 | 15.5 | 17.0 | 15.6 | 13.2 |
| | Total | 22.4 | 19.9 | 11.9 | 12.9 | 11.3 | 9.4 |

It is still a major social problem in the province that young people are not learning to read and write in the years when they must attend school. The absolute number of young illiterates has been increasing: from 26,204 in 1961 to 27,326 in 1971, or 7 percent. Elementary education is not reaching all children because schools are not operating permanently in all settlements, and then the parents are conservative and backward and continue to prevent their children from going to school, especially the girls. In the 1970/71 academic year 5 percent of the children between the ages of 7 and 10 did not attend school in Kosovo, while this figure was 3 percent for Yugoslavia and only 1 percent for Vojvodina. In many regions of Kosovo this percentage is much higher, and the illiteracy rate is also much higher; in 1971 about 55 percent of the settled area showed an illiteracy rate between 35 and 50 percent, while 4 percent of the inhabited area had an illiteracy rate in excess of 50 percent.

As a consequence of the economic and social, cultural and sociopolitical inequality of Yugoslavia's nationalities in the past, we also note great differences in the characteristics of the nationalities as populations with respect to culture and education. The highest rate of illiteracy in Yugoslavia is among Albanians, while the lowest is among Slovenes (1 percent). After the war the Albanians accounted for more than 55 percent of all illiterates in every region of the country, when the illiteracy rate for Yugoslavia as a whole was about 25 percent. But the highest rate of illiteracy in 1953 was in Kosovo (66.2 percent). In 1971 this rate had almost dropped to about half (36.2 percent). For the Serbs in Kosovo the rate dropped from 23.5 to 13.4 percent, and for the Montenegrins it dropped from 31.1 to 18.2 percent. In 1971 Yugoslavia's illiteracy rate was 15.1 percent.9

The Spatial Mobility of the Population

Kosovo's economic and social underdevelopment has resulted in a low level of its population's horizontal and vertical mobility. Its population is the least mobile in the country. The percentage of Kosovo's native (immobile) population was about 70 percent in 1961 and 1971, while it was 53 percent in Slovenia and about 60 percent in Yugoslavia. It is significant to mention that the number of people moving in absolute terms is growing steadily; between 1961 and 1971 about 94,000 persons changed their place of permanent

residence. This mobility is related to the shattering of the classic homogeneous agrarian pattern in the early sixties and the creation of regional centers with more elaborate functions, which have attracted people from rural areas. The principal characteristic of Kosovo's mobile population is that it is moving over quite short distances, that is, from area to area within the same opstina. Whereas in 1961 moves over this short distance accounted for 44 percent of all people moving, in 1971 this percentage had climbed to about 50 percent. The fact that the percentage of people moving who made a move from one opstina to another within the province increased from 37 percent in 1961 to 43 percent in 1971 shows that the population of Kosovo, in seeking better living and working conditions, is also increasing the range of its spatial movement. Within the province these migrants feel no fear about becoming accustomed to a new social environment, because language, cultural and other peculiarities do not represent an obstacle, which is the case if they settle outside Kosovo or outside the Albanian social communities. Albanians are traditionally closely bound to the household, the family and the native village, and the principal reason is their economic and social underdevelopment down through the centuries and other peculiarities (religion, language and mentality).

Horizontal spatial movements of population from rural areas to cities and urban settlements represent the most frequent type of move made in Kosovo. Those moving from rural areas in 1971 comprised about 85 percent of all people moving. More than 82,000 inhabitants left rural settlements between 1961 and 1971 alone. Some of these migrations were from village to village and were related to marriage, but most of these people went to the city. The reasons for this emigration are the overpopulation of rural farming communities, the social restructuring of rural areas through the formation of mixed households, worker-peasants and commuters, whose tendency is always to move closer to the city as soon as the conditions are created, educated young people, and then the desire on the part of some people to settle in the city even if favorable living conditions have not been furnished, and so on.

Although the level of Kosovo's urbanization is rather low, it is still significant that the share of the urban population in the total population has been increasing: from 15 percent after the war to about 27 percent in 1971. This growth of the urban population is unquestionably the result of both components of growth, natural growth and immigration. The mechanical growth of Kosovo's cities has been particularly intense in the last decade, in which they have assumed a considerably greater number of new functions. However, the demographic course of urbanization has not been accompanied by a corresponding functional urbanization, and the unsolved problems, of which there were already a great many, have become still more severe (employment, housing, other public services, etc.). Unauthorized "wildcat" construction of housing took on considerable proportions. Had it not been vigorously opposed by the local authorities, "wildcat" housing construction would have taken on unprecedented proportions in recent years, and there would have been several adverse consequences.

We should mention that in recent years migrations of manpower in the form of commuting, seasonal employment in other regions of Yugoslavia and temporary work abroad have become considerably more active. Commuting is quite common. Whereas in 1961 27,505 in a work force of 84,388, or 32.4 percent, worked elsewhere than where they lived, in 1971 this was true of 56,090 in a total work force of 111,920, or 48.5 percent. Even though there are considerable difficulties standing in the way of commuting, because the transportation infrastructure is underdeveloped, rural settlements are dispersed and remote, this process is still very much to the better for the present level of Kosovo's socioeconomic development. After all, it breaks up the homogeneous economic and sociocultural pattern of the village, establishes daily contact between the rural area and the city, conveys and spreads urban achievements in farming areas. A considerable contribution along these lines has also been made by emigrations of manpower to other places in Yugoslavia and also to foreign countries. Kosovo's emigration of workers abroad is one of the province's very complex problems, primarily because the existential motive is the principal reason for the departure. It is estimated that today more than 50,000 workers from Kosovo are employed temporarily outside the country, while a considerable number of workers have gone and are going through channels on which records are not kept. This means that about a third of the province's population is involved in this form of migration. It is obvious that at the present moment, with unemployment or underemployment of manpower, economic emigration should be encouraged, but at the same time consideration should be given to the return of these workers and to furnishing them jobs. The problem is all the more acute because the bulk of these migrants are unskilled or semiskilled and before their departure were mainly employed in agriculture.

The Ethnic Composition of the Population

No attention whatsoever was paid to the ethnic composition of the population and to the overall development of the nationalities before World War II. Bourgeois Yugoslavia did everything to oppress certain nationalities and ethnic minorities in all aspects of life. Only in the new socialist Yugoslavia have the problems of nationality and the ethnic composition of the population been related to all aspects of socioeconomic and political development. In population censuses and other forms of records the question of nationality has been put according to the respondent's declaration, and this provided the basis for shedding light on the ethnic composition of the population.

With respect to the ethnic composition of its population Kosovo is one of Yugoslavia's very complicated areas. In this small state there are members of almost all the country's nationalities and ethnic minorities. Albanians have the largest share, and their number has increased greatly since the war. This growth is the consequence of the high birth rate and high rate of natural growth, while for the other nationalities the absolute number has increased little or has stayed at the same level, and the relative share has decreased. The Albanians recorded the largest growth between 1961 and 1971 (42 percent) and the smallest between 1948 and 1953 (5 percent); this is because a considerable number of Albanians declared themselves to be Turks so

that they could emigrate to Turkey. The Serbs and Montenegrins recorded their largest growth between 1953 and 1961. However, between 1961 and 1971, because of the low natural population growth and emigration, the Serbs have stayed at the same level, while the number of Montenegrins has decreased 16 percent, and the number of "others" has increased about 40 percent.

Table 6. Trend of the Ethnic Composition of the Population of Kosovo According to the 1948 and 1971 Population Censuses 10

| Census | <u>Total</u> | Albanians | Serbs | Montenegrins | Turks | Others |
|--------|--------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|--------|---------------|
| 1948 | 733,03 ¹ 4 100.0 | 498,573 68.0 | 176,721 24.1 | 28,085 3,8 | | 28,655 4.1 |
| 1971 | 1,243,693 100.0 | 916,167 73.7 | 228,261 18.4 | 31,555 2.5 | 12,244 | 38,960 |

Households and Family Cooperatives (zadrugas)

One of the specific features of Kosovo's demographic and social development are the size and makeup of households. This province is the only region in the country in which average household size has increased (from 6.3 members in 1948 to 6.6 in 1971, while there was a drop from 3.6 to 3.1 in Vojvodina and from 4.3 to 3.8 persons in Yugoslavia), and the makeup has become unfavorable, since there has been an increase in the share of multimember households. These processes in Kosovo are mainly the consequence of the very high birth rate and a fairly rate of migration, while in other regions of the country the situation is reversed. The table below shows the trend in the relative standings of one-member, two-member and multimember households in two characteristic demographic regions of the country, Kosovo and Vojvodina, and in Yugoslavia.

Table 7. Distribution of Households by Number of Members in Yugoslavia, Vojvodina and Kosovo in 1961 and 197111

| | | | | Number o | of Membe | ers in 1 | Househo | Ld | |
|------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------------|
| Region | Year | <u>1</u> | 2 | <u>3</u> | <u>1</u> 4 | <u>5</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>7</u> | 8 or <u>More</u> |
| Yugoslavia | 1961 1971 | 13.6 12.8 | 15.4 16.2 | 17.2 19.0 | 18.5 | 13.7 12.9 | 9.2 8.0 | 5.4 4.2 | 7.0 5.2 |
| Vojvodina | 1961 1971 | 14.4 14.0 | 22.2 22.6 | 21.4 23.5 | 20.4 22.7 | 11.4 | 5.9 4.4 | 2.5 | 1.8 |
| Kosovo | 1961 1971 | 6.4 4.9 | 7.2 6.7 | 8.9 | 11.9 | 13.2 12.8 | 12.8 12.5 | 10.9 | 28.7 31.9 |

The fact is that a third of the households in Kosovo, more than 60,000 (1971), have more than eight members; we note that there is still a considerable number of extended families and family cooperatives. The result of a sample survey shows that 8,794 households have more than 15 members and that 2,778 households have more than 20 members. Of all the households with more than

15 members, 8,214, or 93 percent, are in rural settlements, while 2,733 of households with more than 20 members, or 98 percent, are also in those settlements. In rural settlements there are 1,236 households with more than five members.

Households with more than 15 members are social communities which are family cooperatives (zadrugas) in their makeup, social organization and function. They are a characteirstic feature of the Albanian population. Although they are disappearing more and more with the new socioeconomic and cultural changes, a fair number have still survived and have a large number of members. They are most common in the Dukadjin Region (western portion of the province). Recent field studies show that in a small area of that region there were 225 family cooperatives with more than 30 members in just 311 villages. 12 Such families are numerous today in all parts of Kosovo and may even have a larger number of members. Whereas the previous Albanian family cooperatives were mostly concerned with farming and the raising of livestock, the social composition of the cooperative has become more complex at the present time; they have members in various occupations, beginning with manual workers and office workers, and then on to teachers at all levels, economists, lawyers, physicians, and so on. However, the influences of the traditional patriarchal patterns and features of ethnic psychology, as well as demographic and economic-and-social factors, which have given rise to them along with other factors, continue to maintain these communities. But the future overall transformation of the Albanian villages will speed up their disintegration.

FOOTNOTES

- 1. Kosovo stands out in Yugoslavia in all elements of the dynamics and composition of its population.
- 2. V. Simeunovic, "The Population of Yugoslavia and of the Socialist Republics Between 1921 and 1961," STUDIJE, ANALIZE I PRIKAZI [STUDIES, ANALY-SES AND REVIEWS], No 22, Federal Bureau of Statistics, Belgrade, 1964, pp 39-40; the figures for 1971 are the final results of the 1971 Population Census.
- 3. "Vjetari statistikor i RPSH 1969 dhe 1970, Drejtoria e statistikes," Tirana, 1970.
- 4. D. Breznik, "Demografski metodi i modeli" [Demographic Methods and Models], Belgrade, 1972, pp 172, 188 and 189; M. Friganovic, "Socijalna geografija" [Social Geography], Part I, World Population, Zagreb, 1968, pp 65, 69 and 73; "Vjetari statistikor i RPSH 1969 dhe 1970, Drejtoria e statistikes," Tirana, 1970, p 26; Yugoslav statistical yearbooks for the years between 1971 and 1974, published in Belgrade.

- 5. "Demografske, socijalne i ekonomske karakteristike stanovnistva nacionalnosti u Jugoslaviji" [Demographic, Social and Economic Characteristics of the Population of the Nationalities and Ethnic Minorities in Yugoslavia], Institute of Social Sciences, Center for Demographic Research, Belgrade, 1973, p 31.
- 6. B. Maksimovic, "Movement of the Farm Population Into Nonfarm Activities," STANOVNISTVO, No 1, 1964, Belgrade, p 8; population censuses for 1961 and 1971, Book XV, Federal Bureau of Statistics, Belgrade, 1966 and 1973.
- 7. Population censuses, figures on employment and occupations, Book XIV for 1961 and Book X for 1971, Federal Bureau of Statistics, Belgrade, 1965 and 1974.
- 8. Lj. Skara, "Illiteracy-Long-Standing Concomitant of Socioeconomic Development in the Socialist Republic of Serbia," KULTURA, No 19, Belgrade, 1972, pp 98 and 101.
- 9. See footnote 5.
- 10. "Popis stanovnistva i stanova. Nacionalni sastav stanovnistva po opstinama" [Population and Housing Census. Ethnic Composition of the Population by Opstinas], Bulletin 727, Federal Bureau of Statistics, Belgrade, 1972, p 11.
- 11. Population censuses, figures on size and origin of household income, Book XVI for 1961 and Book XII for 1971, Federal Bureau of Statistics, Belgrade, 1965 and 1974.
- 12. Dj. Rapi, "On the Family Cooperative--The Tekija," SOCIOLOGIJA SELA [ROLE OF SOCIOLOGY], No 47-48, Zagreb, 1975, p 50.

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